

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Recruiting workers to the communist movement

— PAGES 8-9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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U.S. gov't: no charges needed to jail citizens

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The Justice Department has declared it has the right to jail U.S. citizens without charges and deny anyone it deems an "enemy combatant" the right to legal representation.

The government made this argument in a court brief filed June 19 in the case of Yasser Esam Hamdi, who was born in Louisiana. Hamdi was captured in Afghanistan with retreating Taliban forces in November during Washington's military onslaught on the country.

In papers filed before the court, the Justice Department is arguing that a federal judge in Norfolk, Virginia, erred in appointing a public defender to represent Hamdi. The brief says that allowing a prisoner to have access to a lawyer "would directly interfere with—and likely thwart—ongoing efforts of the United States military to gather and evaluate intelligence about the enemy." The brief also asserted that the court "may not second-guess the military's enemy combatant determination."

Hamdi, whose parents are citizens of Saudi Arabia, was captured by the Northern Alliance following heavy bombardment on Mazar-i-Sharif by U.S. warplanes. He was taken to the U.S. concentration camp at its illegally held base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

Hamdi repeatedly informed authorities there of his U.S. citizenship and they were finally forced to transfer him to a military prison in Norfolk, Virginia, where

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Rally condemns firings over Social Security numbers

BY DARRYL SHEPPARD

CHICAGO—"No more 'no match!'" chanted about 100 union members, many of whom were Mexican immigrants. The rally and march started at the downtown Chicago Social Security Administration and ended at the nearby Federal Building.

The lively action on June 25 was in response to the "no match letters" sent from the Social Security Administration to employers and workers. If the name of the employee and the social security number don't match, the boss fires the worker. The letter doesn't necessarily signify that the worker is illegal.

"*Si se puede!*" (Yes we can!) said Roberto de la Cruz from the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights. "*Si se puede!*" the crowd roared back as he began his speech. "There are 9 million undocumented workers in this country who pay billions a year in taxes. Please reward our work and legalize us!"

A young summer intern with Jobs with Justice told the *Militant* that the "no match" firings are "messed up." She cited the USA Patriot Act passed with bipartisan support in Congress after September 11 and said that "immigrants and those fighting for social justice are being attacked a lot more and are urged not to speak, not to fight."

Martin Unzueta, with the United Network for Immigrants and Refugees, said, "We are here selling our [labor] with dignity. This

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Capitalist crisis deepens across South America

Mass protests in Peru, Paraguay reject government sell-offs

BY RÓGER CALERO AND BRIAN WILLIAMS

The capitalist crisis that erupted first and most sharply in Argentina has been spreading to other countries across South America, with working people both bearing the brunt of the attacks and leading massive protests against government austerity policies. Commentators in the big-business media are openly speculating that Brazil may be the next country to follow Argentina in defaulting on its debt payments.

"Brazil will be a litmus test for Latin America," stated Arturo Porzecanski, a leading economist at ABN Amro in New York. "God help us all if it goes wrong."

The Brazilian real, the national currency, plunged to an all-time low against the dollar June 21. Having once traded at better than one-to-one with the dollar, its value has sunk to 37 cents, with a 10 percent loss in June alone. The country's stock market, Latin America's largest, has fallen to its lowest level this year, as fears mount among capitalist investors over the ability of the government to continue paying the interest bill due on the country's \$290 billion public debt.

In Uruguay the currency slumped in value in mid-June after the government abandoned its exchange rate peg and allowed it to float freely in the international market. The value of the Uruguayan peso has plunged as much as 28 percent in local ex-



Thousands mobilize in Argentine capital of Buenos Aires June 20 to demand unemployment benefits. The capitalist crisis, originally and most sharply affecting Argentina, has spread, with steep declines in the currencies of Brazil and Uruguay, and rising poverty and unemployment. The IMF continues to refuse new loans to Argentina.

change houses, with devastating effects on the livelihood of millions of workers and peasants.

A delegation from the International Monetary Fund left the Argentine capital of Buenos Aires June 21, having failed to gain

the agreement of government officials on a new round of austerity measures that they insist must be implemented in order to restart IMF loans to that country. Capitalist investors fear that without such an agree-

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Support Palestinian people's rejection of Washington's imperial dictates

EDITORIAL

The *Militant* encourages working people around the world to support the Palestinian people in their rejection of Washington's imperial dictates. U.S. president Bush's mandates on the Palestinians amounts to a

blatant abrogation of their right to self-determination.

The U.S. president's insistence on "a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a Palestinian state can be born" aroused particular anger. Fadel Ahmad Tahboub, a member of the Palestinian National Council, stated that in spite of his political opposition to Arafat, "Bush's call for changing

the Palestinian leadership is an imposition and intervention in internal Palestinian affairs and a contradiction to democracy and the outcome of [1996] elections that were supervised by the whole world.... Neither Bush nor Sharon has the right to force us to change our leadership."

Speaking against "change and reform imposed by an external force," one Palestinian resident of the Gaza Strip said, "We don't have a [President Hamid] Karzai, like America imposed on Afghanistan. We would refuse such a thing."

These and other voices of repudiation of the White House's intervention are a further manifestation of the resistance by Palestinian people to the U.S.-backed Israeli occu-

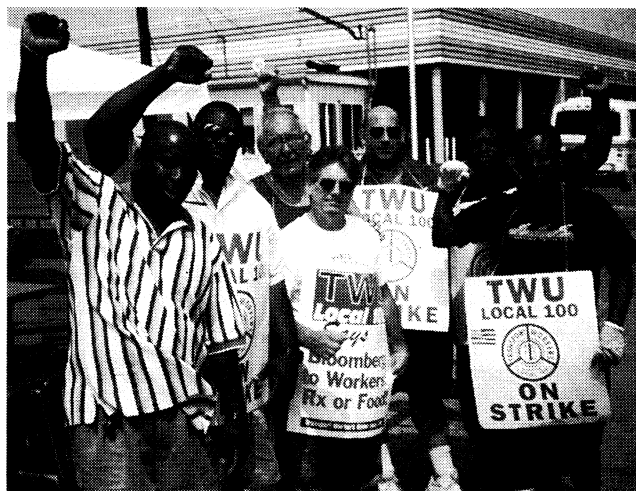
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Unionists in Queens, N.Y., shut down three bus lines

BY DAN FEIN AND RUTH ROBINETT

QUEENS, New York—Just after midnight on June 17, some 1,500 bus drivers, mechanics, cleaners, and dispatchers struck three private bus companies here. The walkout has had a big impact on public transportation and won the support of working people in New York City. The bus companies service Queens and Queens-to-Manhattan routes. More than 100,000 people usually ride these buses each day.

At the picket line in front of the Queens Surface Corp., Roy, a striker, told the *Militant* that members of other unions had joined the picket line and a rally to support the strike, including janitors who are members of the Service Employees International Union Local 32BJ and transit workers.



Bus drivers picket Queens Surface Corp.

Militant/Dan Fein

Martin Florio of Flushing, Queens, told *Newsday* that after waiting in vain for 15 minutes for a Q65 bus, "I feel sorry for the bus drivers. They should get everything they

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Two in Carolinas convicted in frame-up trial

BY STEVE WOLF

CHARLOTTE, North Carolina—Chawki and Mohamad Hammoud, Lebanese immigrants in North Carolina were found guilty June 21 of a range of charges, including giving financial support to Hezbollah, an organization in Lebanon that has organized resistance to the Israeli occupation of that country and that is on the U.S. government's terrorist list.

Mohamad Hammoud, 28, was the first person tried in the United States under a 1996 federal law banning material support to "terrorist" organizations. He was convicted of conspiring to provide material support to Hezbollah. He faces life imprisonment. Chawki Hammoud, 37, while not charged under the 1996 law, was accused and convicted of being part of a racketeering conspiracy and being a member of Hezbollah. He faces up to 14 years in prison.

"It's a great victory for America," lead prosecutor, First Assistant U.S. Attorney Kenneth Bell, claimed after the verdict.

Bell's boss, U.S. Attorney Bob Conrad, claimed "the fact that there was a terrorist

fund-raising cell in Charlotte means there are terrorist fund-raising cells operating in other cities. He boasted that "the success we had in this case will encourage similar prosecutions."

After a four-week trial, the jury deliberated for three days. On the last day of deliberations the jury let the judge know they were deadlocked.

The atmosphere and conduct of the trial, and the laundry list of charges themselves, gave the impression that the two were already guilty of the most violent of crimes.

The government brought the Hammoud brothers to court in an armored truck. The names of jurors were kept secret and they were picked up at a secret location each day and transported by marshals to and from the courthouse. The Hammoud's were not charged with any acts of terrorism or violence.

Much of the alleged "evidence" presented by the prosecution involved the political views of the defendants and had nothing to do with financial support to Hezbollah. For example, video tapes of the struggle in Leba-

non were shown with crowds chanting "Death to America, Death to Israel."

One of the central pieces of "evidence" presented by the government was a letter sent to Mohamad Hammoud that prosecutors say was found in his home. According to the government, the letter says, "As you know, Brother Mohamad, the Resistance is

always in need of your support. If there was an opportunity for you to work as you did at the end of the gatherings, donate to the Resistance, and when one of the guys is coming to Lebanon, especially here in the south, they need your support."

Sentencing of the two brothers will take place in three to four months.

Firefighters protest daily for equal wages in Gothenburg



Militant/Catharina Tirsén

Firefighters at May Day rally organized by labor unions stand in front of Gothenburg city hall. They are demanding wages equal to other firefighters in Sweden.

BY DAG TIRSEN

GOTHENBURG, Sweden—Since January firefighters here have organized protests every weekday as part of a fight for equal wages with firemen in Stockholm and Malmö. Åke Liljegren, the contact person at Lindome fire station, said the workers began their action after the administration denied them wage parity.

For several months the firefighters protested outside the central station in Gärdä. They received a lot of support as drivers in cars and trucks honked as they passed by.

Recently they started marching through downtown, taking turns between stations. Every weekday firefighters from one or two stations go to the city center after their night shift for the protest. They have made up a schedule of the actions and who is participating through November.

On June 15 firefighters from Kungsbacka and Lindome marched after completing their night shift. "We demand a decent wage," read one placard. "We are let down, we are fooled, we are angry," said another. One firefighter held up a sign that said, "Promised wage. Denied wage."

The marchers were recognized and popular on the street among people on their way to work. Here was a thumbs-up, there was a wave, or a honk in support. A woman told them, "Well done. Keep up the fight, guys!"

On May Day around 200 firefighters and ambulance drivers marched in their uniforms as a special column in the traditional May Day demonstration, organized by the trade unions. The firefighters led off the march behind a banner that read, "Firefighters want to reach wages they can live on." Coming down Avenyn, the central street in Gothenburg, each of the firefighters set off their own fire alarm to attract the attention of the spectators.

At the same time as the workers started the marches they also decided to refuse to work any extra shifts during the vacation period. But the union cannot officially support the actions. Antiunion legislation in Sweden denies any possibility for the union to officially declare any slowdown during a national contract period.

"Our fight is for our wages," one firefighter said, pointing to bad conditions working people face, such as nurses at the hospitals who are poorly paid. "But if our action will help others to raise their demands, it is fine. The nurses also deserve a raise."

Åke Liljegren said the firefighters are standing together. "Every one is participating when it is their turn to march. No one declines," he said.

Dag Tirsén is a member of the metal workers union.

Veteran SWP member Charlie Scheer dies

BY PAUL MAILHOT

A veteran member of the Socialist Workers Party, Charlie Scheer, died June 26 in St. Paul, Minnesota. He was 86 years old.

Scheer's work in building the communist movement spanned more than six decades. He was an active member of the Twin Cities branch of the party up until recent years, and remained a supporter of the party's activities until his death.

Scheer, who became interested in the socialist movement while on strike against Montgomery Ward in 1937, joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 the year the party was founded.

The Twin Cities branch of the Socialist Workers Party is organizing a meeting to celebrate Scheer's many years of building the communist movement on Sunday afternoon, July 14. Further information about the event will be printed in next week's *Militant*.

Messages to the meeting to celebrate Scheer's life can be sent to the Twin Cities branch of the Socialist Workers Party at 113 Bernard St., West St. Paul, Minnesota, 55118. E-mail messages can be sent to TC6446325@cs.com.



Charlie Scheer in 1971

Militant

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On the class-struggle trail of New York City's union rats

BY JACK WILLEY
AND MAGGIE TROWE

NEWYORK—Giant 15- and 30-foot rats on union picket lines of construction trades workers across New York City have become a symbol of resistance by working people and of the antilabor drive of "rat" employers. The inflatable rodents spend a lot of their time on the front lines these days, holding their own in front of nonunion work sites. *Militant* reporters recently were granted exclusive interviews with a few of the rats from the Carpenters and Laborers unions.

On June 19, one of three rats working with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners joined five fellow union members in front of Calyer Architectural Woodworking in Brooklyn. Tony Agridiano, an organizer for the Carpenters union, helped translate for the rat, who answered questions for the *Militant*.

The fanged giant had quite a bit to say about why they were picketing at that shop and the fight to organize cabinet factories throughout the area.

"Safety and health conditions are major issues in every nonunion woodworking shop," he said. "It's common in nonunion shops for workers to have not been properly trained in the use of saws and joiners and to have never had the opportunity that union workers do to go through state-certified health and safety programs."

What are some of the health problems carpenters face without proper equipment? "Emphysema and cancer," the rat said. "There is a lot of formaldehyde in the chip core; something like eight gallons of glue in every four-foot by eight-foot panel. The contact cement is flammable. Some places have no ventilation fans and in shops that do, some bosses tell workers to only use them once in a while," he said.

"Watch people walk out of some of these nonunion shops," the rodent said. "It's common to see people missing fingers. Oftentimes there are no guards on the machines. They don't have 'lockout, tag-out' procedures," a method for cutting off electricity and locking up the fuse box so a machine can be repaired or cleaned without danger of someone accidentally throwing the switch back on.

"The companies like to hire immigrants and never teach about health and safety hazards because they think they can get away with it and take advantage of them," the rat said. "Nobody should have to work in those conditions and that's why we are out here."

Nonunion workers often make half as much money or less as union carpenters and rarely receive medical coverage or pension benefits, the rat reported.

"We have had to confront wage issues time and again. In some places, workers were paid with checks that bounced," he explained. "Others were supposed to be paid in cash and the employer stiffed them. An important aspect of our organizing has revolved around fighting for back pay."

Turn toward union organizing

The face of the construction and woodworking industry has been transformed over the last 15 years as a massive influx of workers from throughout Latin America, Eastern Europe, and other parts of the world have entered the workforce. Contractors have tried to use immigrants to push down wages and safety and drive a wedge between native-born and foreign-born workers. Injuries and deaths have skyrocketed over that same period.

The Carpenters union has had to confront this assault by the employers, who have dealt blows to the construction unions. In 1995, union president Doug McCarron took several measures to sharply shift the course of the union toward organizing, with demonstrative steps toward reaching out to foreign-

born workers.

He cut the administrative staff in Washington from 240 to 25 and hired 600 new organizers, many of them Latino workers who were working in the industry. The Carpenters also boosted organizing funds to 50 percent of the union's budget. The union's 1,700 councils were organized into 55 regions, and responsibility for organizing was taken from locals—whose officials tend to focus on servicing the membership—and given to the regional bodies. In 2001 the Carpenters left the AFL-CIO, criticizing its leadership for paying little attention to union organizing.

The Carpenters grew from 349,000 in 1995 to around 650,000 today and now often accounts for up to 60 percent of workers on a construction site.

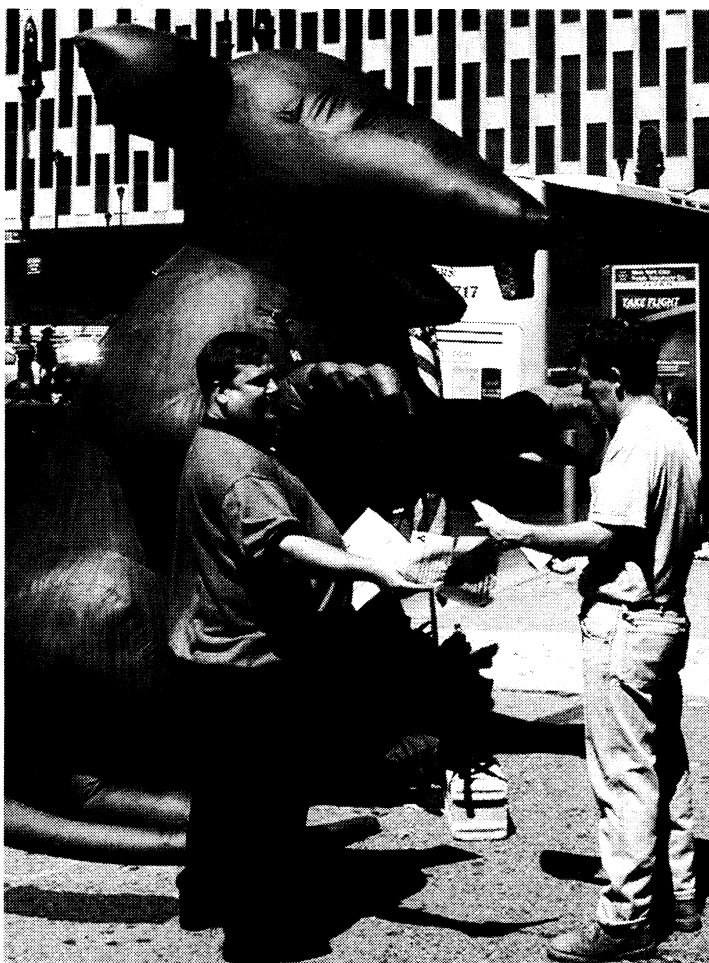
The union organized more than 200 sites in New York City last year and another 72 sites so far this year.

The rat described for the *Militant* the sharp turn to organize nonunion workers that the Carpenters have embarked on since 1995.

Workers from many countries

"We have seen an incredible change in the composition of carpenters in the city, and indeed the whole country," he said. "We are now organizing workers born in Latin America, Poland, Russia, and more recently even from Africa and Asia. We have to embrace the new wave of immigrants coming into our country. We used to call them scabs, but now we realize they are our brothers."

The union also works with foreign-born workers on immigration issues and refers them to agencies that can offer advice. This is part of the union's nationwide campaign to defend immigrant rights, in which the



Laborers union official hands out flyers about a major scaffolding collapse in New York City. Dangerous working conditions are propelling growing numbers of nonunion workers to organize.

Carpenters have held rallies in cities in Florida and other states to demand, "Stop immigrant exploitation!"

Carpenters organize many worksites through "salting." This is an old union tactic in which a union member gets hired into a nonunion shop or construction site and initiates an organizing drive among his or her co-workers.

The rat introduced the *Militant* to a union organizer, Walter Clayton, who was pulling picket duty. Clayton "salts" cabinet shops.

"Of the 25,000 union carpenters in New York City, some 2,000 are currently laid off," Clayton said. "We encourage our members



Militant/Jack Willey

Union carpenters picket a post office annex construction site in New York. "We don't want to kick these guys out of a job. We want to organize them," the rat told the *Militant*.

who are waiting on the list for a union job and who are looking for work in the meantime to hire on at select shops we are trying to organize." He pointed to shops in the area that he and others have "salted" and won union recognition.

During our interview with the rat, Mike Cruz, 27, stopped by. Cruz worked at ISI Woodworking until he was fired after leading a unionization fight. The six guys who worked there signed union cards and voted in the Carpenters. The boss fired everyone in front of district union representatives, claiming he had no more work. He then hired three workers back, but says that ISI is closed down.

"My brother is a union carpenter, so I knew we needed a union," Cruz said. "I worked in the spray booth painting the cabinets. They gave us no masks, no vents, no filters, not even eye or ear protection," he said.

Battle scars

The rat said he could not think of a single employer that gave in to workers' demands for a union without a fight. Sometimes bosses have attempted to break organizing efforts by using thugs to try to intimidate union supporters.

"Look at my scar!" the rat exclaimed, pointing a nearly one-foot-long patch of tape on his abdomen. "Last fall, me and six other union brothers were out in front of Nebraskaland in Hunts Point," referring to a meat storage company in the Bronx meat market. The company was using nonunion millwrights to set up racks during a construction project.

"Twenty guys came out and jumped us," the rodent said. "They beat up two of the guys on the line, knocked over the generator that keeps me inflated, and stabbed me in the gut."

The rat assured reporters he was not intimidated. "They tried to scare me away but after getting first aid, I got right back into the struggle."

The previous week, *Militant* reporters caught up with another rat in front of a construction site for a post office annex near the John F. Kennedy airport. She was joined by a couple of organizers and half a dozen working carpenters. Union members are required to carry out one day of picket duty every year. Dan Wolcott, an Carpenters or-

ganizer, helped out with the interview.

"We're out here to protest Dafna, which refuses to pay a prevailing wage by classifying carpenters as general laborers," said the rodent.

She explained that employers must pay workers what is called a prevailing wage for government-contracted jobs. A prevailing wage is established based on the industry standard for a given job classification in a given region. By classifying everyone doing carpentry work as "laborers," companies can circumvent the law and pay workers \$10 to \$15 less an hour. The rat said nonunion contractors frequently violate prevailing wage laws.

"Union members make about \$35 an hour, with medical insurance and a pension plan. These guys make \$10 or \$15 dollars an hour with no insurance," the rat said.

Health and safety

Alfred Douglas, a carpenter for 15 years, helped interpret between the *Militant* and the rat so we could discuss health and safety issues.

"Union carpenters are certified through the fire department to use certain tools, most of those in nonunion outfits are not," explained the rat. Carpenters use power tools like power-activated nail guns with a charge that drive nails. They use instruments with lasers to take measurements, which if used

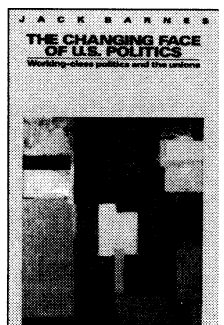
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U.S. gov't: charges not needed to jail citizens

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he has been held in solitary confinement. The Justice Department has announced that it does not intend to file criminal charges against Hamdi.

In May the U.S. District Court in Norfolk ordered the military to allow the federal public defender to see Hamdi. Government prosecutors appealed that decision to the 4th U.S. Circuit of Appeals claiming that an attorney would "hamper the military's interrogation," the *Washington Post* reported June 14.

"Our client hasn't been charged with any crime, and the government says that since they haven't charged him with a crime, they can hold him forever," said Hamdi's lawyer, Frank Dunham, federal public defender for the Eastern District of Virginia.

The government's "argument that their interrogation must be ongoing and continuous proves too much, because it would justify the detention of a detainee for an indefinite period of time," Dunham said in a brief filed June 20 with the 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

'No authority to hold a citizen'

The executive branch "does not have the authority to detain an American citizen incommunicado and to unilaterally withdraw from the courts the power to inquire into the propriety of his detention," the brief added.

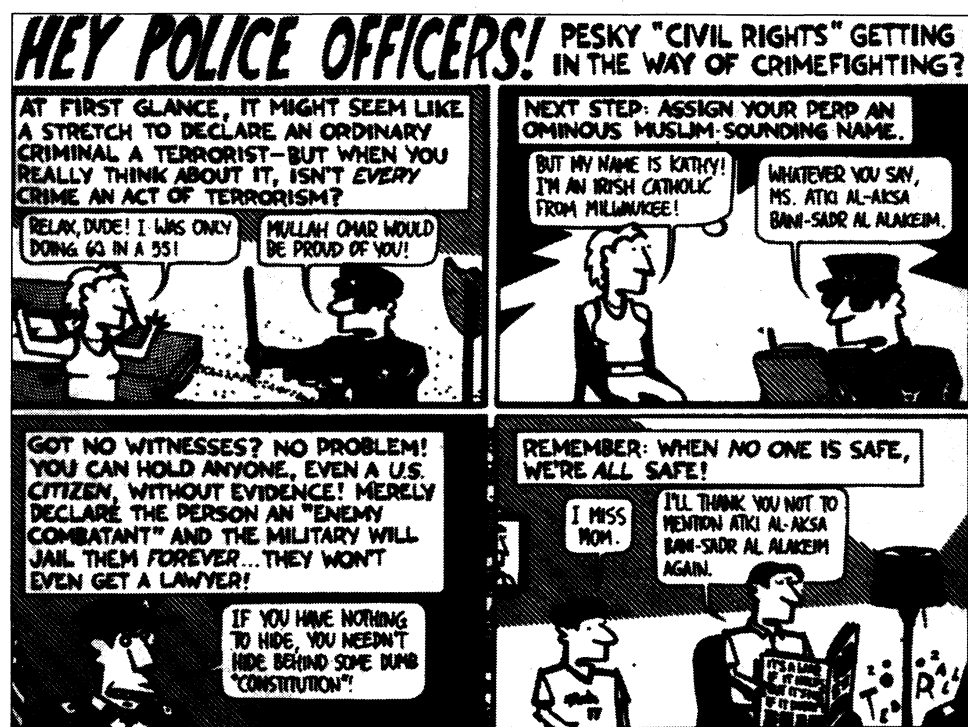
Rebuking the Justice Department claims that allowing Hamdi legal counsel would harm "intelligence gathering" or allow him to pass messages to enemy colleagues, the brief noted that Hamdi has been imprisoned for more than six months and that the government has "had ample time to interrogate him." The brief also stated that the government has presented no evidence that Hamdi

is an enemy combatant or has any ties with any organization deemed terrorist by the U.S. government. It requested that Hamdi be allowed to meet with his lawyers immediately.

Another U.S. citizen also deemed an "enemy combatant," Abdullah al-Muhajir, is being held in the Charleston Naval Weapons Station in South Carolina. Muhajir, who changed his name from Jose Padilla, was arrested May 8 and sent to the military prison June 10 after Attorney General John Ashcroft announced that he was taken into custody because he was exploring a plan to build and explode a radiological dispersion device, or "dirty bomb." Government officials later admitted that Muhajir had neither a plan nor materials to make a weapon of any sort. Muhajir is also prevented from communicating with his lawyer.

"He's been tried and convicted by the executive branch," said Muhajir's lawyer Donna Newman. Referring to public allegations against Muhajir by senior White House officials and the limitations placed on her ability to comment on the case, she remarked: "My client's voice, through me, is impeded. I can't get it out and that is a great concern."

The Bush administration has sought to justify the military detention of U.S. citizens without charges based on the "military order" issued by the president last November and court decisions from 1942 and 1946. The 1942 case involved German prisoners who challenged their imprisonment, in which a presidential decree prohibited detainees from access to the courts. The Supreme Court ruled, however, that the courts were available to determine if the decree applied to a particular prisoner. The 1946 case concerned a U.S. citizen who fought for the Italian army in World War II. He was



granted a lawyer and an evidentiary hearing to establish his status as an enemy soldier.

Constitutional right to speedy trial

A few civil libertarians have spoken against the jailing of citizens without charges and similar moves in the so-called war against terrorism, hailed by the president as "preemptive action" during a June 1 speech he gave at the U.S. Military Academy in West Point, New York.

"The route that they have created in this ad hoc way is devoid of any constraint on the president's power," said Georgetown University law professor David Cole. "The

notion that he can pick people up off the street, label them, and lock them up for the rest of their lives without a hearing is a remarkable one."

Cole said that the lack of evidence explains why the Justice Department has failed to file charges against Hamdi and al-Muhajir. "Where they feel they can win a criminal case, they'll go the criminal route. Where they feel they can't, where they don't have the evidence," they put the person in a military brig, he added.

Laurence Tribe, a professor of constitutional law at Harvard University, writing in a June 16 *New York Times* opinion column, didn't explicitly oppose the administration's moves, but argued that the Bush administration "has the obligation to defend its position in federal court." For the government to "retain its legitimacy, its conduct must always be subject to challenge in a court of law," Tribe said. He noted that the imprisonment of Muhajir stretches "the meaning of already elastic concepts like criminal conspiracy to the point of creating what would amount to thought crimes." It is the "threat—and the promise—of judicial intervention that keeps executive power from veering into tyranny," he concluded.

In a related development, the governor of New Jersey, James McGreevy, signed into law on June 18 the "Sept. 11th Anti-Terrorism Act." According to the *New Jersey Star Ledger*, the new law defines terrorism as committing a range of certain crimes "ranging from illegal weapons training to murder, for the purpose of disrupting communications or transportation, influencing government policy, or terrorizing five or more people."

Anyone deemed a "member of a terrorist conspiracy" who was allegedly prevented from committing terrorism would face a minimum of 30 years in prison.

The law makes it a crime to raise funds for any organization dubbed terrorist by the U.S. government, even if the fund-raiser is unaware of that designation. Those accused of warning or harboring alleged terrorists or hindering their capture face imprisonment.

Legislators across the country have introduced more than 1,200 bills similar to the New Jersey law, according to the Denver-based National Conference of State Legislatures.

N.Y. bus drivers wage third contract strike

Continued from front page

ask for." Striker Toni Varner at Triboro Coach said "the train stations are too far to walk—sometimes 2.5 miles. The mayor should walk to the subway and see how he likes it."

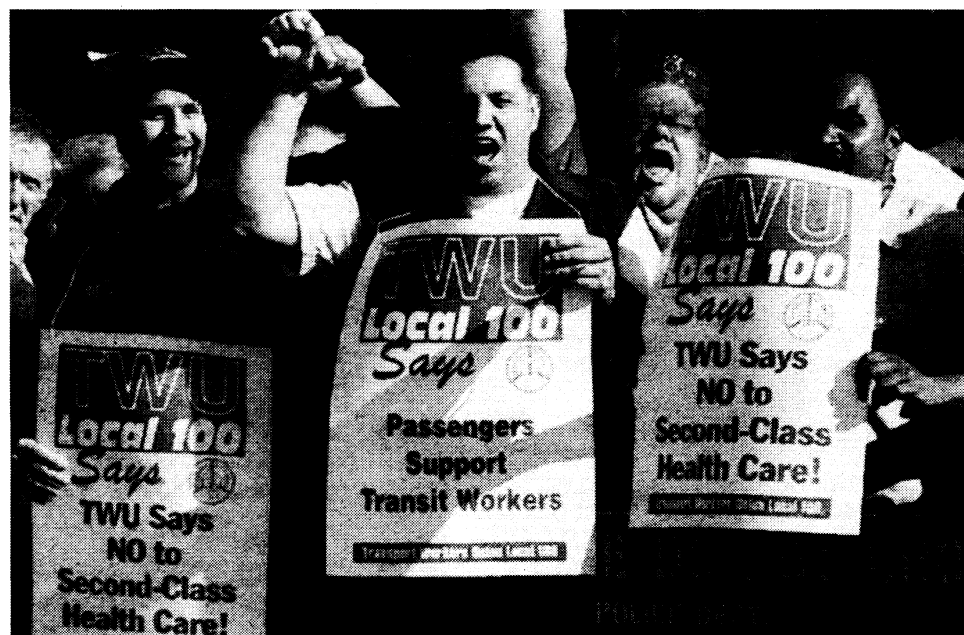
The strikers are members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100. The union organizes Queens Surface Corp., Triboro Coach Corp., and Jamaica buses, in addition to the thousands of transit workers who keep the subway and bus lines running. The contract of the subway workers expires next December.

The union members have been without a contract since January 2001. This past January workers organized a two-hour wildcat strike to demand a contract. They struck again for two days in February, both times being urged back on the job by the union officials. Following these actions the companies reached a tentative agreement with the union, pending city approval.

The current strike centers on medical coverage for the workers. The Queens private bus lines have been receiving significant city subsidies since the 1970s. This year the city will spend an estimated \$110 million on contracts with seven companies operating in Queens. The fares are comparable to the city bus fares and the busses use the citywide Metro Card, a discounted fare-card.

New York City owns the buildings, buses, and property at the Queens Surface Corp. facility and leases them to the company at nominal rates. In the past the city has been involved in the collective bargaining negotiations sessions between TWU Local 100 and the bus companies.

In March the city agreed to contribute to the TWU Local 100 health benefit fund us-



Bus drivers in Queens picket June 17, the first day of their strike to demand a contract.

ing the same formula as was agreed to with the public workers union that represents 250,000 city employees. The formula calls for a 19 percent increase of payments into the fund over the next two years to keep up with the rising cost of medical care.

The strike was sparked when City Department of Labor Relations Commissioner James Hanley told the union that the city would only increase the contributions by 3.5 percent over two years.

As his way of announcing his refusal to negotiate, Mayor Michael Bloomberg said the first day of the strike that the city is "not going to get involved in a private dispute."

At Triboro Coach striker Vincent Charles Gagliardo, a 25-year-old driver, said "the city is just trying to bust the union. New York City was built on union labor. We should stay out as long as necessary and paralyze Queens and Manhattan."

George Gunkel, a driver for Queens Surface, said the city wants to "take away more than they give. The city administration, headed by Bloomberg, only wants to take. I believe in our union." Wayne Robbers, also at Queens Surface and a driver, added he was "surprised the strike has lasted this long. I thought it would be over by now."

A Black woman who is a transit toll booth worker and member of TWU Local 100 has been picketing everyday. Her husband is on strike. "The strike has brought unity," she

said. "Everyone is together. We now have a sense of pride and closeness. Now the union is a closer-knit family."

Toni Varner, a new driver with six weeks on the job, said, "The union is breaking me in the right way. For single parents like me the cost of medical care is too hard on you. You've got to have benefits to take care of your kids."

Chicago protest

Continued from front page

nation is growing because of immigration from Mexico and from across the Atlantic. We all work, we all pay taxes.... How can one say that the labor of one is not worth the same as another?"

Oscar Corral, an organizer from the Carpenter's union said, "We are here in the United States fighting to get out of the hole. Every time we try to do something for ourselves they put us back down. It's not fair."

Many of these protesters said that they would be returning for a larger protest action on July 1 to demand immigrant rights.

From Pathfinder

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by Larry Seigle

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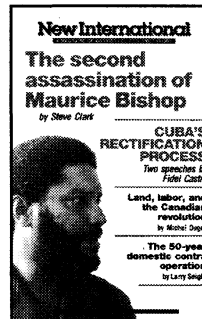
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'Militant' campaigners extend drive to deepen political work on job

The drive to sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, has been extended by two weeks to July 7. Socialist workers in the trade unions requested the additional time to deepen their political work on the job and expand the paper's reach among industrial workers. *Militant* supporters are also increasing the number of weekly sales at factory plant gates and mine portals to reinforce the work of socialists inside. This has proven effective in following up with workers who purchased a paper in the past and for meeting others for the first time. Below are reports of initial results in the unions over the past week.

BY JEREMY ROSE

BLAIR, West Virginia—A *Militant* sales team of socialist workers from Pittsburgh and Cleveland visited three mine portals in southern West Virginia and sold door-to-door in several mining communities. Two of the portals, Hobet and Marrowbone, were visited earlier in the drive.

We sold a *Militant* subscription and 13 issues of the paper during two visits to Arch Coal's Hobet mine. Workers at Marrowbone purchased four copies and one subscription, even though few cars passed by. The subscriber said that miners were on vacation. He told the team that the Marrowbone complex is divided between union and non-union operations. The bosses pit union workers against nonunion workers by the way they dole out leases for production.

Miners picked up another seven copies and a subscription at the Ruffner mine. One worker told his friend that the *Militant* was the only paper that supported their 1993 strike. His friend bought it saying, "I'm not a communist or a Muslim, but I'll get a copy of your paper and check it out!"

Another miner who is Black said he thought the latest war moves by Bush against Iraq were motivated by economic competition. "I've been saying that for years. Yes it's money, money, money," he explained.

Militant supporters sold door-to-door in Blair, where a massive mountaintop removal coal mining operation was completed several years ago. The mining method removes upper layers of rock to reach thin seams of coal. The overburden that is scraped off is then dumped into nearby valleys.

Between the portals and visits to workers' homes, *Militant* supporters sold a total of 33 copies and five subscriptions.



BY BRIAN TAYLOR

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—Socialist coal miners have sold 17 *Militant* subscriptions to fellow workers, surpassing their goal of 15. We are now using the two-week extension of the campaign to bring home the goal for sales of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*.

At least five miners decided to buy subscriptions in part through sales at the mine portals by supporters of the press. A good example of this was a recent team to southern West Virginia.

Socialists regularly sell in front of U.S. Steel's Oak Grove mine here in Alabama. Recently a worker bought a paper and was later introduced to socialists also working in the mine. Some days later, he bought a subscription.

Socialist workers in the United Mine Workers in western Colorado have sold a few *Militant* subscriptions as part of sales at the Deserado mine portal in Rangely. One miner, who bought a copy of the paper on a previous occasion, invited the sales team to her house during a recent sale at the mine. After more discussion on political issues covered in the paper, she and her husband decided to get a subscription.

A union miner who attended the grand opening of the Pathfinder book store in Hazelton, in northeastern Pennsylvania, also picked up a *Militant* subscription.

Brian Taylor is a member of UMWA Local 2133.



BY DON REED

OMAHA, Nebraska—Packinghouse workers in the United Food and Commercial Workers and in nonunion plants reached all our goals in Omaha. Now we're pushing ahead to win some more readers as part of a nationwide effort.

Arlene Rubenstein from Atlanta reports, "I spent an hour and a half at the house of a chicken processing worker who lives near the Pathfinder bookstore. She had visited the bookstore and got a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Today she bought *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*. She's a good example of the kind of serious workers we are meeting today."

Some new readers are also getting into the act. Don Mackle from Detroit relates this story. "While leaving work today, I ran into a co-worker who had bought *Perspectiva Mundial* earlier. As I showed him the subscription form and he was deciding whether to get it, another worker came

up and told him, 'Get it man! Read about what's going on in the world! Learn about Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. I read it. I was the first one here to buy a subscription.' That helped. He took advantage of the introductory offer!"

Ted Leonard is in the midst of a union organizing fight at Kayem Foods in Chelsea, Massachusetts, near Boston. He reports that he was talking to another production worker he just met who supports the union. After discussing the need for a union, it became obvious that his co-worker was interested in other social questions. When Leonard showed him the paper, the guy bought a subscription.



BY CHRIS REMPLE

Socialist workers in the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) have begun selling subscriptions in several cities.

In Atlanta, Ellie Garcia reports that she sold a *Militant* subscription at her sewing shop. "It began with a conversation at lunch, when a co-worker told me her husband, who is in the Air Force reserves, has been called up for duty," she said.

Garcia went to her home the same day and discussed a range of political questions for a couple hours. "It turns out she has taken on the school board in Marietta, Cobb County, for continuously placing one of her sons in classes below his testing level," Garcia reports. "She said she is fighting for all 'the Hispanic and Black kids.'"

Marty Ressler works in a small apparel shop in Pittsburgh. She reports, "One day last week discussion broke out at work over the Bush administration's proposal to expand FBI powers and about the government's latest war moves.

"A co-worker said she wished she could find something that tells the truth about what the government is doing," Ressler said. "I told her about the *Militant* and showed her a copy later on. After reading it over, she decided to get a subscription."

Two socialist garment workers in New York went with a co-worker to visit one of the picket lines of the Transit Workers Union bus drivers on strike in Queens. After spending some time on the line, learning more about the strike and offering their solidarity, the co-worker bought subscriptions to both the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.



Militant supporters in Birmingham, Chicago, and Omaha sent in these additional tidbits.

"We sold two copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* this weekend. One was sold to a farmer at an event in Sumter County, Alabama, sponsored by the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. His family recently won a long fight to get back the land stolen from them by the state of Alabama in 1963. The land belonged to the family since 1874."—Brian Taylor, Birmingham



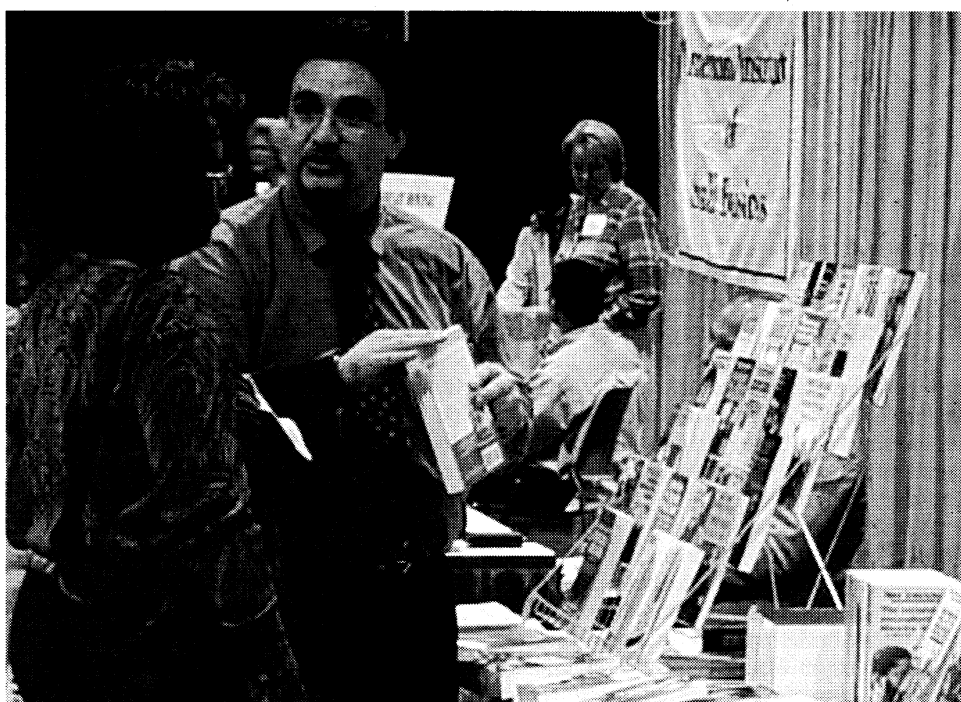
"Three members of the Young Socialists joined a spirited march and rally at the Chicago Federal Building, June 25, to protest the 'no match' letters that the Social Security Administration is sending out to workers and employers. These letters claim that Social Security numbers of those workers are false. Many immigrants are losing their jobs due to this government-employer offensive.

"Of the 100 people who protested, two bought subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and several others bought copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*."—Mike Ellis, Chicago



"*Militant* supporters in Omaha have decided to raise all our goals to help push the national goal over the top. We now have a goal of 13 *Militants*, up from 9; 22 *Perspectiva Mundial*, up from 15; and 15 *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*."

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textiles Employees



Militant/Maceo Dixon

Militant supporter José Aravena discusses revolutionary literature with participant at American Library Association convention that took place in Atlanta June 15-18.

lution; up from 10. A follow-up visit to the home of somebody who signed the subscription form at a Juneteenth celebration proved very valuable. After a wide-ranging discussion, we sold a subscription to the paper and *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*."

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive April 13-July 7 (week 10)

	Militant			PM		Book	
Country	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Sweden							
Gothenburg*	16	18	113%	3	3	9	7
Stockholm	10	11	110%	3	2	5	4
Sweden Total	26	29	112%	6	4	14	11
New Zealand							
Auckland \	10	11	110%	1		5	3
Christchurch	8	8	100%	1		3	3
N.Z. total	18	19	106%	2		8	6
United Kingdom							
London	35	26	74%	12	7	20	13
Dundee		7					3
UK total	35	33	94%	12	7	20	16
Canada							
Vancouver	30	35	117%	6	6	20	20
Toronto	30	24	80%	6	2	15	13
Montreal	15	7	47%	5	4	16	15
Other		2					
Canada total	75	68	91%	17	12	51	48
United States							
Seattle*	38	40	105%	12	11	16	16
Cleveland	25	26	104%	5	4	20	14
Los Angeles	35	36	103%	15	17	10	10
Birmingham	20	20	100%	8	11	10	6
Miami	30	30	100%	15	6	15	11
Twin Cities	50	50	100%	25	34	25	3
Washington	25	25	100%	12	11	15	16
Houston	30	29	97%	12	12	20	15
Charlotte	18	17	94%	7	4	10	7
Detroit	40	35	88%	13	11	20	15
Allentown*	25	21	84%	8	5	10	1
NY Garment Dist.	80	65	81%	40	30	50	34
Western Colorado	18	14	78%	8	7	12	9
Boston	30	23	77%	15	16	20	17
Brooklyn	45	34	76%	35	15	35	22
Pittsburgh	45	34	76%	5	1	20	4
Tampa	25	19	76%	6	4	12	8
Des Moines	40	30	75%	25	21	21	11
Upper Manhattan	75	50	67%	50	32	40	28
Newark	55	36	65%	25	24	35	22
Atlanta	40	25	63%	15	10	30	16
Brownsville	8	5	63%	3	1		3
San Francisco	30	19	63%	18	5	15	8
Philadelphia	25	15	60%	10	8	15	1
Tucson	5	3	60%	1			
Chicago	35	20	57%	20	16	25	8
Omaha*	13	7	54%	22	16	15	10
U.S. total	829	728	88%	391	332	465	315
Australia	20	14	70%	4	4	12	5
Iceland	6	4	67%	1		4	2
Int'l totals	1009	895	85%	433	359	574	403
Goal/Should be	1050	875	83%	460	383	625	521
IN THE UNIONS							
	Militant			PM		Book	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
United States							
UMWA	15	17	113%	2	2	10	1
UNITE	50	12	24%	45	19	50	10
UFCW	50	14	28%	50	35	50	21
Total	115	43	37%	97	56	110	32
Australia							
AMIEU	3	1	33%			3	
MUA*	2	1	50%			3	
Total	5	2	40%			6	
Canada							
UFCW	7	3	43%	1		4	3
UNITE	3		0%	2	1	3	1
Total	10	3	30%	3	1	7	4
New Zealand							
NDU	1		0%			1	
MWU	2		0%				
Total	3		0%			1	
raised goal*							

Capitalist crisis in South America

Continued from front page

ment, the government may not be able to meet the large interest payments due at the end of July on the country's \$140 billion debt. Argentina's currency remains in turmoil as well. The government is now spending up to \$50 million a day to stave off a run on the peso. Since January its currency reserves have dropped from \$13 billion to less than \$9.8 billion.

Workers and peasants from Argentina to Peru to Paraguay to Ecuador have taken to the streets to protest the effects of the deepening economic crisis and the attempts by the capitalist rulers to impose severe austerity measures on them. Thousands marched through the streets of Argentina's capital city June 20, in the latest in a series of protest actions, to demand unemployment benefits. Militant street protests in Peru and Paraguay have succeeded in forcing the governments there to hold off for the time being on plans to privatize basic utility services.

Imperialist concern over election

Imperialist investors are also worried about the possibility of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the Workers Party (PT) candidate for president of Brazil, winning the upcoming election, which is scheduled for October. Since May, the PT contender's lead in the polls over José Serra, the candidate of the ruling Social Democratic Party, has increased significantly.

Lula, as he is known, is a former metalworker, who made a name for himself during militant trade union battles in that country in the late 1970s. "The PT has become much more moderate in the past decade," noted the *Financial Times*. "For example, it has gained a reputation for clean government and responsible management in the cities and states where it has won local elections."

In the past Lula has called for renegotiating Brazil's foreign debt and a few other moderate reforms. However, in recent statements, he has made clear that his intention is to honor the country's debt payments and uphold the country's contractual obligations. He has also named a prominent industrialist, Sen. José Alencar, as his vice-presidential candidate.

Lula's reassurances were described by the *Wall Street Journal* as "moving in the right direction," and were welcomed by Brazilian president Henrique Cardoso, who has led the imposition of massive cuts in social programs and the sell-off of the country's patrimony.

"It's a good start, having Lula speaking

like [current] Finance Minister [Pedro] Malan," said an official with UBS Warburg. "But investors need clear actions."

The capitalist rulers in Washington and Brazil are most concerned about the impact that an electoral victory for Lula would have on the rising expectations of workers and peasants there. "A broad commitment to financial stability disguises rifts between party factions," noted the *Financial Times*. "Lula's moderate majority faction...is opposed by many grass roots activists (the party has 300,000 members) who tend to be opposed to the market economy and in favor of radical anticapitalist reform."

The Bush administration has made clear that it has no plans to bail Brazil out of an economic collapse. In a Bloomberg radio interview, U.S. treasury secretary Paul O'Neill said that he would oppose sending any additional IMF funds to Brazil. "Throwing the U.S. taxpayers' money at a political uncertainty in Brazil doesn't seem brilliant to me," he stated.

Brazil's national debt has grown rapidly, reaching almost 80 percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The country's debt structure "is unique" noted David Malpass, chief global economist at Bear Stearns & Co., "in that roughly 90 percent of the internal debt is either floating rate or linked to the exchange rate." This means that the debt rapidly becomes more burdensome in the event of high interest rates, a weakening currency, or slow economic growth, all three of which are now occurring. Interest payments alone represent about 9 percent of Brazil's GDP.

Drop in foreign investment

Brazil's GDP shrank 0.7 percent in both the fourth quarter of 2001 and the first quarter of 2002. Exports during the first five months of the year were 13 percent below the same period in 2001. Foreign investment is expected to decline by 20 percent this year.

In Uruguay, the currency devaluation is wreaking havoc with the banking system as well. Bank deposits have tumbled. The country's central bank recently announced that it would take control of Banco Montevideo, the country's third-largest private bank, in an effort to stabilize its operations.

In response to six days of massive protests by working people in the southern provinces of Peru, the government on June 20 suspended its plans to privatize two electrical companies. President Alejandro To-



ledo, who on June 16 had declared a 30-day state of emergency and sent in the army and police to occupy Arequipa, Peru's second-largest city and the center of the protest, announced that he would hold off on this move until the courts could rule on the validity of the sale, given a prior injunction that brought it to a halt.

During the protests, thousands of workers in Arequipa, Tacna, Cusco, and Puno, organized pot-banging marches and blocked the city's main roads with barricades and tires set ablaze in defiance of a state of emergency and government repression that resulted in hundreds of people wounded and two killed by government troops. Peruvian interior minister Fernando Rospigliosi resigned in response to the demonstrations.

"We are afraid that in the future they will privatize the water company; we cannot allow that to happen because we depend on them and these are companies with a social

character," said Luis Dante, the mayor of Moquegua, who joined the demonstration.

In another protest, public transport workers in the capital city, Lima, and other cities in the central and northern part of the country, held a two-day strike June 20-21 to protest government moves to impose mandatory insurance payments upon the workers.

The privatization steps the Peru's rulers are trying to implement are aimed at complying with an agreement signed with the IMF, under which the Peruvian government is committed to obtaining \$700 million in revenue from privatizations in 2002.

"The privatization process is dead," stated Juan Assereto, a former privatization official, bemoaning the impact of the workers' protests. "The next one will lead people to destroy another central square, will require a new high-level commission and another step backward."

Protesters win demands in Paraguay

Privatization moves were also beaten back in Paraguay as a result of two weeks of protests that swept through the country. In response, the Paraguayan Senate on June 6 voted 32-7 to suspend the law it had passed authorizing the sale of the state-run telecommunications, railroad, and water and sewer companies.

Declaring victory, thousands of unionists and peasants organized in the Democratic Congress of the People, called off a general strike that was scheduled to begin June 7. The Senate's move came three days after President Luis González announced he was suspending indefinitely the privatization of the Paraguayan Communications Company. The protesters also succeeded in winning their other demands: the repeal of a value-added tax imposed on agricultural products, the withdrawal of a proposed "antiterrorist" law, and the suspension of a plan to privatize the state banking sector and roadways.

Miami rally backs nursing home workers

BY MIKE ITALIE

MIAMI—Some 150 people turned out June 20 for a rally and march backing nursing home workers who are fighting for union recognition at Mount Sinai Medical Center. Sponsored by the South Florida Jobs with Justice, along with Haitian, Black rights, and immigrant rights organizations, the rally condemned the company for its intolerable working conditions and the bosses' claim that union supporters used "voodoo" to intimidate co-workers into voting for the union.

On February 28 nursing assistants and housekeeping, dietary, and laundry workers voted 49-37 in favor of joining the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) 1199 Florida. Within days, Mount Sinai management appealed the election to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), charging that union supporters used what were described as voodoo scare tactics against other workers. These included leaving half-filled cups of water around, pennies on the floor, and black beads and lavender perfume.

When the NLRB ruled on May 17 against Mount Sinai's challenge of the union elections, the company filed a 76-page appeal, insisting once again that voodoo was used to influence the elections.

The company's claims are "nonsense" said Evelyn Fontaine, a registered nurse. "We can't let them get away with labeling Haitians this way." Fontaine pointed to the long history of struggle against discrimination that has been perpetuated through use of racist images of Haitians and their culture.

At one time there was a media campaign claiming that all Haitians carried the AIDS virus, which led to a ban on Haitians donating blood, Fontaine recalled. "But we protested and stopped that label."

Like nursing students and many other workers at the rally, Fontaine heard about the protest over Creole-language radio programs earlier in the day and decided to come by after work. A couple of dozen members of SEIU 1199 Florida from other nursing homes in the area also turned out to show their support, explaining that they had waged a fight similar to that at Mount Sinai over the past few years in order to win union contracts.

Many also came to the rally to demand freedom for some 200 Haitian asylum seekers unjustly imprisoned at the Krome detention center and Turner Guilford Knight (TGK) Correctional Center, a maximum security prison. Their jailing has sparked protests and wide publicity in the south Florida media. Haitian women jailed at TGK released a letter stating, "We did not commit any crime, and we are being treated like criminals. We cannot even go outside to take a breath of fresh air."

Previously the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) would free asylum seekers prior to a final ruling, if they showed there was a credible fear of persecution if returned to their homeland. Only after a legal challenge did the INS admit the reason for this change in policy and unjust imprisonment: the immigration cops want to deter more Haitians from trying to come to

the United States by giving harsh treatment to those who do make it here.

Signs at the June 20 rally included calls to "End racist treatment of Haitian refugees." Fred Frost, president of the south Florida Central Labor Council, told the protesters that the national AFL-CIO had passed a resolution that day calling for the release of the imprisoned Haitian refugees.

After a rally at the Griffing Adult Center, protesters marched to the Mount Sinai facility in Miami Shores, chanting "No justice, no peace" and "Shame! shame!" at the nursing home bosses. Despite a steady rain the marchers' spirits remained high, making clear their determination to continue the fight until the nursing home workers win union recognition and a contract.

Germany: building union gains deal

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Thousands of members of the IG Bau construction trade union in Germany ended their strike June 24 with a deal that increased pay rates and boosted the minimum wage. The construction workers' walkout was the first national strike in the industry in more than 50 years.

Under the contract the 950,000 workers in the industry are to receive a 3.2 percent pay hike and a further increase of 2.4 percent in April of next year.

The union had initially demanded an immediate hike of 4.5 percent, while the employers had offered 3 percent. Minimum

wages in eastern and western German are also to be increased.

Union members will vote on the tentative agreement by mid-July.

Some 32,000 workers walked off the job at about 2,800 sites across the country in strikes that began June 17 in Berlin and the industrial Ruhr valley. The strike was organized by IG Bau, representing 340,000 workers or about a third of the workforce.

"Workers have become disgruntled," the BBC reported June 25, "following one of the deepest recessions in the German construction industry," with many building firms facing bankruptcy.

Bush lists demands, Israel occupies key West Bank cities

BY PATRICK O'NEILL
AND GREG MCCARTAN

Flanked by his secretaries of state and defense June 24, U.S. president George Bush demanded Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestinian Authority (PA), be removed from leadership before Washington will take any steps to support the formation of a Palestinian state.

Promoted as a key policy statement on the Mideast, the announcement occurred as Israeli military forces once again surrounded the nearly destroyed headquarters of the Palestinian Authority, completing its reoccupation of six of the eight key towns under Palestinian control on the West Bank; killing six people in the Gaza Strip, including a leader of the Palestinian organization Hamas, from two helicopter gunships; and shooting dead 10 Palestinians in a one-day period on June 21.

"Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a Palestinian state can be born," Bush said in face of the onslaught by Tel Aviv. "I call on the Palestinian people to elect new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror." The U.S. president said that the "Palestinian authorities are encouraging, not opposing terrorism. This is unacceptable."

In an interview after Bush's press conference, Secretary of State Colin Powell said that for the past 10 weeks, in talks with Arafat, "I told him the direction in which they were moving had to change in a very fundamental and strategic way, and we had to see that if he wanted the United States to be a partner in this moving forward. To be blunt," Powell said, "we haven't seen enough of that."

The Palestinian response to both moves was immediate. In the city of Qalqilya, Palestinians fought the invading forces, killing an army major and sergeant. Watching TV coverage of Bush's speech a few days later, a Palestinian who teaches Arabic exclaimed: "I swear to God that this speech was writ-

ten and sent by [Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon!]" Responding to the long list of demands, the teacher said, "Look, [Bush] is mixing the poison with honey and he wants us to drink it."

In a statement, Arafat said he found Bush's proposals to be "a serious effort to push the peace process forward," but reminded the U.S. administration that he was elected to office in elections monitored by international observers.

Saeb Erakat, the chief negotiator for the Palestinians, said the Palestinian people "have chosen President Arafat as their leader and the world and President Bush must respect the democratic choice of the Palestinian people." Palestinian leaders don't "come from parachutes from Washington or anywhere else," he said.

Imperial dictates

In addition to the removal of Arafat, Bush ticked off a list of imperial dictates for the Palestinian people to meet, including:

- Building "entirely new political and economic institutions based on democracy, market economics, and action against terrorism";
- Adopting a "new constitution which separates the powers of government";
- Allowing the United States, among others, to "help" the Palestinians "organize and monitor fair, multiparty local elections by the end of the year with national elections to follow";
- Establishing a Palestinian legislature with "full authority of a legislative body";
- "Reforming" Palestinian "finances, encouraging transparency and independent auditing";
- That any Palestinian state "require a system of reliable justice to punish those who prey on the innocent." Washington will "work with Palestinian leaders to establish, finance, and monitor a truly independent judiciary"; and
- To set up an "externally supervised ef-



Left: Israeli army tanks move into West Bank town of Ramallah, June 23. Above: flanked by Secretary of State Colin Powell (left) and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld (right), U.S. president George Bush tells Palestinians that they must "elect new leaders" and carry out a long list of "reforms" before a Palestinian state will be put on the agenda.

fort to rebuild and reform the Palestinian security services." Bush did not mention that the current Palestinian security services were organized and equipped by the CIA, in collaboration with the Israeli security force.

"Israeli citizens will continue to be victimized, and so Israel will continue to defend herself," Bush said. He added that the Israeli army should be withdrawn from the occupied territories and construction of settlements on Palestinian land ended once "progress toward security" had been attained for Israel.

Israel is the biggest single beneficiary of U.S. military and economic aid, receiving around \$3 billion per year.

Sharon's office welcomed Bush's speech. "When the Palestinian Authority undergoes genuine reforms and a new leadership takes its place at its head," read an official statement, "it will be possible to discuss ways of moving forward by diplomatic means."

The U.S. president's speech followed a series of meetings with diplomats from the region, including Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and Saudi Arabian foreign minister Prince Saud al-Faisal, both of whom urged Washington to force restraint on Israel, which through the increased use of military firepower, military-police checkpoints, and security fences, is enforcing the lockdown of an entire people.

The June 25 *Wall Street Journal* expressed

satisfaction that "the President broke from the tired Saudi-State [Department] diplomacy."

On the afternoon of Bush's speech, Israeli helicopters fired four missiles into the car in which Yasser Rizek, a leader of Hamas, was traveling, killing him and five other people—the latest in a string of Israeli "targeted killings" of Palestinian leaders.

Meanwhile, some 100 armored vehicles moved into Ramallah. Using loudspeakers, Israeli troops warned the city's 55,000 inhabitants to stay indoors while they surrounded the compound that houses Arafat and other officials of the Palestinian Authority. Armored bulldozers used the rubble created in this and earlier attacks to construct barricades around the compound.

Palestinian officials' house arrest of several Hamas officials in Gaza did not deter the Israeli assault. Nor did Arafat's reported condemnation of "foreign" elements for exploiting the anger of young Palestinians to commit suicide bombings in exchange for money.

The occupation of Ramallah further expanded an Israeli offensive following suicide bombings on June 18 and 19 in Jerusalem in which 26 people had died. The offensive was widely described as a reoccupation. An Israeli cabinet statement of June 21 pledged to "respond to acts of terror by capturing Palestinian Authority territory" and to hold on to it "as long as terror continues."

The assault began with helicopter gunship attacks on several points in Gaza, and an exchange of fire in Qalqilya in which two Israeli soldiers were killed. In Jenin, Israeli forces killed four Palestinians—two aged six, one 12, and one 50—and wounded two dozen others among a crowd of people who had emerged from their houses to buy food after hearing that a 24-hour curfew had been lifted. Machine guns and tank cannon caused most of the casualties. "An initial inquiry indicates the force erred in its action," stated an official army report.

On the same day, Israeli forces rounded up some 2,500 Palestinian men and boys in Jenin, later releasing 1,000. Haitham Awad Abuzeineh, 37, told reporters that he had been held for about 13 hours while soldiers checked his ID against their computer records. Although he was released, he said, others were held for interrogation. He heard loud screams from those undergoing questioning, he said.

"This is collective punishment," said Akram Abu Sbaa, 39, another detainee. "It is because we are Palestinians. They want to humiliate us."

"People are becoming fed up with the situation," said Jenin resident Mahmoud Subaneh, 47, an unemployed bus driver. "They cannot work, they have no money, and even when the shop owners open in the morning, the tanks force them to close."

Unremitting offensive

By June 24, Israeli forces had reoccupied six of the eight West Bank towns that had officially been designated for Palestinian "self-rule" under the 1993 Oslo accords, placing some 600,000 people under a 24-hour curfew.

The open-ended character of the operation has prompted some public expressions of concern among top Israeli officials, faced with the failure of their escalating brutality to quell the Palestinian resistance, including suicide bombings and other military operations.

Following the six-week sweep of West Bank cities that began in late March, in

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Divisions sharpen among Israeli rulers

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The resistance of the Palestinian people has created division within the Israeli ruling class and widespread debates among politicians and commentators over what to do next.

Israeli defense minister Ben-Eliezer, one of the Labor Party representatives in the coalition cabinet of Likud Party leader Ariel Sharon, expressed concern about the cabinet's June 21 pledge to capture and hold Palestinian Authority land "as long as terror continues."

"I don't recall agreeing to anything like that," he said through "clenched teeth," according to the *Maariv* daily.

Ben-Eliezer has declared himself a more enthusiastic supporter of another controversial move by Sharon's government: the construction of a security line between Israel

and the West Bank, described by Sharon's spokesman as "a security zone, with sensors, patrols, obstacles, [and] trenches." Construction began in late June on the 60-mile first stage.

"I have never been more convinced that there is no military solution to this conflict," wrote the defense minister in a guest column in the June 25 *Wall Street Journal*. "Israel must focus on two dimensions: security separation and political horizon for peace," he stated.

Another advocate of the security zone, the current head of Shin Bet, the internal security force, "sees it as a way to get the army out of Palestinian areas," reported the June 16 *New York Times*. Sharon and the army chief, on the other hand, "are more partial to continuing military operations inside the West Bank."

"Many on the Israeli right, particularly settlers, are opposed to the fence," reported the big-business paper. "In Mr. Sharon's government, at least two factions, the National Religious Party and Yisrael Ba'aliya, are planning to quit if the fence runs more or less along the Green Line [the West Bank-Israel border], threatening yet another coalition crisis."

Deepening economic problems

Representatives of another right-wing coalition member, the Shas party, threatened to leave the government in April when Sharon announced a package of deep budget cuts. The proposal slashed 13 billion shekels (1 shekel = US 20 cents) from the country's annual budget of 248 billion shekels.

Three weeks later, the government announced plans to cut a further 2 billion shekels—an attempt, according to the *Financial*

Times, "to head off a large deficit and convince financial markets that it has the right medicine for the ailing economy."

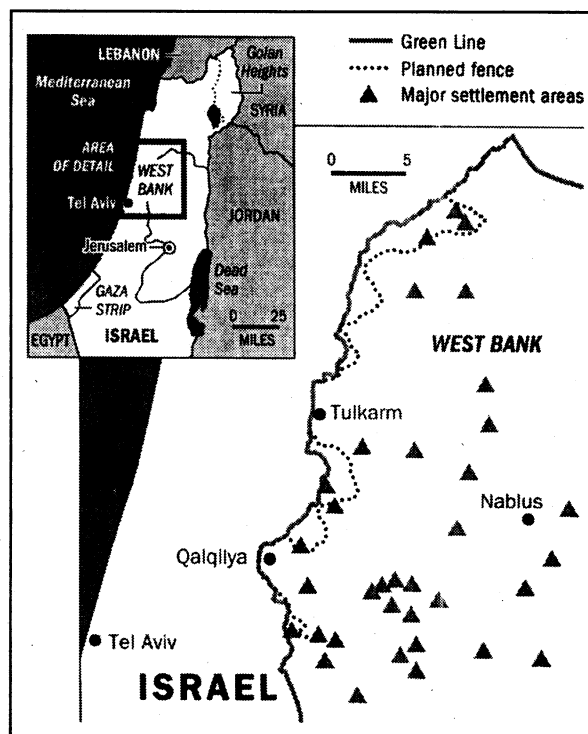
Sharon is "faced with rising inflation and unemployment, a plunging shekel and a heavy defence bill for April's invasion of the West Bank," reported the London-based daily. While annual inflation is running at around 8 percent, unemployment stands at around 10 percent, bringing jobless totals to record levels.

The rapid population growth among Palestinians and the stagnant population levels among Israeli Jews are also helping to fuel the Israeli rulers' concerns about the long-term viability of their state. In mid-June Major-General Uzi Dayan warned the Israeli parliament (Knesset) of a "demographic time bomb" ticking in Israel and the occupied territories.

Dayan, the chairman of the National Security Council, told the parliamentarians that if current population trends continue, Palestinians will comprise a majority in the area between the Jordan Valley and the Mediterranean. Of the 15 million projected to live within those boundaries, 55 percent would be Palestinian.

Former Shin Bet head Ami Ayalon used the statistics to argue for the abandonment of the West Bank and Gaza. "If we don't get out of the territories," he said, "we will not be a democratic society or, alternatively, there will be no home for the Jewish people." On the other extreme of the debate are those who call for the "transfer" of Palestinians and the "Judaization" of the territories.

"The view that counts for now," reported the June 14 *Financial Times*, "is that of Ariel Sharon...whose stated ambition is to encourage the immigration of 1 million—2 million Jews to help redress the demographic balance. Among those being urged to come to Israel are economic migrants from Argentina, French Jews facing a perceived wave of anti-Semitism, and religious Americans."



Recruiting workers to the comm

SWP leadership discusses challenges and opportunities i

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK—Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party met here June 22-24 to chart a course to meet the opportunities to recruit workers and youth to the communist movement and prepare the SWP's 41st Constitutional Convention, scheduled for July 25-27 in Oberlin, Ohio.

The focus of the reports and discussion at this National Committee meeting was the possibilities and need to transform the work of party members and branches in order to meet the potential to recruit workers.

The party has already been successful in beginning to integrate itself into the resistance of workers and farmers in town and country, establishing headquarters and regular political activity in workers districts, and building party fractions in garment shops, textile mills, meatpacking plants, and coal mines, where workers are organizing to defend themselves and their unions against employer assaults.

Attending the meeting were members of the party's National Committee, organizers of SWP branches and organizing committees, members of the steering committees of the party's national trade union fractions, representatives of the Young Socialists, and leaders of Communist Leagues from several countries.

Workers coming around the party

During the course of the meeting socialist workers from California to Florida to Massachusetts gave examples of how their work over the past months has led to a greater number of workers coming around the party, making contributions to the party's work by passing on suggestions about its activities, informing party members of protest actions and political meetings, and joining tables to sell revolutionary literature.

They noted the interest among co-workers and others in books on revolutionary politics published by Pathfinder Press, as well as in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. In some cities the Militant Labor Forum is becoming a regular place for a broader layer of workers and youth who view the weekly event as a unique opportunity to engage in serious political discussions.

Today the party faces bigger openings to begin to recruit workers and young people to the communist movement than at any time since the early years of the SWP's turn to the industrial unions in the late 1970s.

There is a gap, however, between the number of workers and youth who can become contacts, supporters, and members of the Socialist Workers Party, and the party's ability to take advantage of these opportunities. Closing that gap is a decisive question for the movement, SWP leaders noted, a challenge that the membership and leadership can meet by working week in and week out at the course of proletarianizing the party.

In his political report to the meeting, SWP national secretary Jack Barnes said that the party today is preparing for the struggles that will break out as the crisis of capitalism deepens. "In the midst of gigan-



Militant/Karl Butts

May 17 rally in Tampa, Florida, to defend immigrant rights, sponsored by the Carpenters union and other organizations. By following the lines of resistance in the working class, socialist workers are transforming the work of the SWP's branches and organizing committees. This has opened up the opportunity to recruit workers to the party, a challenge that was the focus of the SWP leadership meeting.

tic battles," he said, "great opportunities in the working-class movement shatter parties that are not prepared."

The party met the opportunity of the Minneapolis Teamster strikes that erupted in 1934 because of what it had done beforehand in skirmishes in the coalfields, a major strike by hotel workers in New York, and other working-class struggles—along with its defense of Bolshevik continuity against the rise of Stalinism. As a result, the party was able to respond, be a part of the leadership of the battles in Midwest trucking, and begin to win a layer of workers to its banner.

The party is an organized part of the layers of the proletariat that are the main targets of the employers' offensive, said Barnes. Having no predictive powers, communists, like other working people, live and act in the moment; but they situate unfolding skirmishes and political developments in, and organize their own activity according to, the historic line of march of the working class.

Barnes noted a major advance that working people today can build on. In earlier decades communists had only a few classic works of Marxism in English to draw on as they were up to their necks in labor and social struggles. The extensive publishing program of Pathfinder Press, which includes a range of titles in five languages, is something new for the revolutionary workers movement and is a source of strength. Publishing communist and revolutionary literature enables the party to reach wider layers of the working class both inside the United States and internationally.

Party-building work day-to-day is frequently carried out on different fronts by

one or two communists as they take up opportunities to talk politics and distribute literature on the job, sell in front of factory gates or at street corners, and participate in political meetings and coalitions.

It is this work that the weekly meeting of the SWP branch reviews, assesses, and adjusts. The activity, and not the branch meeting itself, is the focus of the week. "What gives the week its rhythm is mass work and systematic work with contacts," Barnes said. "The branch meeting is a by-product of this regular work that draws together the lessons of the week."

The key to advancing proletarian work on the job is the combination of commu-

ing accomplished, is posed sharply by the party's progress in rooting itself in those industries and unions where the employers, despite having dealt harsh blows, are not breaking the resistance of workers and farmers. The stirrings and struggles of these sections of the working class are the base for building a revolutionary communist party that wants to fight for power, Barnes said.

Party members should only work at a plant or mine if, through consistent political effort, they can meet co-workers who are interested in the movement, he said.

If we do our work, said Barnes, workers will see in us the kind of party needed to lead a revolutionary struggle for power by tens of millions of workers and farmers in the United States. "The party is designed to face the fact that the U.S. rulers will go to war, a war that will determine the history of humanity. That is what you are preparing for."

The SWP is following the lines of resistance in the working class—lines that lead to a proletarian milieu that today is the only platform to build and strengthen the communist movement, he said.

Recruiting to revolutionary politics

When young people are drawn to the revolutionary movement, said Barnes, the party must meet them on their own ground, debate and discuss differing political ideas through to the end, and encourage them to participate in joint political activity. In the case of students, he said, "We are indifferent to whether or not they quit school and get a job. It doesn't have any bearing on their recruitment," he said.

As they become convinced, young socialists will start taking more responsibility for the movement and make decisions about what to do with their lives.

Joel Britton, the organizer of the Chicago branch of the party, presented a report entitled, "Communist Branches, Frac-



Militant/Lea Sherman

Selling the *Militant* outside of sugar plant in Wyoming. Weekly sales of revolutionary literature organized by party branches in front of mines and mills where socialist workers are employed leverages political work among co-workers on the inside.

nist activity inside the plants and the work organized by party branches to set up tables, sell the socialist press, and engage in political discussions with workers at the plant gates. Both are necessary components of developing a weekly rhythm of party activity to meet workers, win them as contacts, and recruit them to the communist movement.

Consistent sales near Pathfinder bookstores in workers districts are a weekly priority of party members. So is establishing regular bookstore opening hours so workers know where and when they can find socialists, discuss politics, and purchase books.

The weekly Friday night talks and discussions at the bookstore that advance the education of all party members and those interested in the communist movement are essential, Barnes said. Even when the Militant Labor Forums are small, the party members, Young Socialists, and others who attend need this regular opportunity to grapple with important political questions and developments.

The question of recruitment, and the gap between what is possible and what is be-

tions, and Recruiting Vanguard Workers." Britton described the continuing meetings and actions by the illegally fired meat packers at American Meatpacking Corporation (AMPAC) in Chicago. By following the lines of resistance among working people in the city, the party branch in Chicago has become more involved in several struggles, helping its members to take steps toward transforming the weekly work of the branch along the lines described by Barnes.

Following the lines of resistance

Establishing regular sales off literature tables on street corners in workers districts has been an important part of meeting workers who are part of political actions and union resistance. Recently a worker informed the members of one sales team about a meeting to discuss a wave of firings on the grounds of alleged irregularities in Social Security numbers. Some 300 people, socialist workers among them, turned out to the meeting. The sales team also got to know some worker militants and sold several books and three subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Workers and peasants in Latin America resist capitalist devastation

July 'Militant' and 'PM' reporting teams planned for Argentina, Cuba, Paraguay, and Venezuela

❖ Argiris Malapanis, a longtime *Militant* reporter from Miami, and Olympia Newton, a leader of the Young Socialists from Los Angeles, will go to Venezuela, where workers and farmers massed in the streets in April to foil a pro-imperialist coup against the Hugo Chávez government.

❖ Martin Koppel, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Romina Green, a leader of the Young Socialists, are heading to Argentina and Paraguay. They will interview peasants who have led recent mass actions in Paraguay and follow up from their January reporting trip to Argentina.

❖ Mary-Alice Waters, Mike Taber, and Róger Calero will also be reporting

from Havana, Cuba.

These reporting trips are part of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*'s efforts to provide firsthand coverage of important developments in the class-struggle, and is an additional reason for new readers to subscribe to the socialist press.

Militant readers are encouraged to send in contributions to help offset the high costs of these reporting teams. This special appeal will build on the success of our recent fund drive and help the paper continue its proud traditions.

Please make contributions to the *Militant* and send to: 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

inist movement building a proletarian party

Socialist workers in every workplace need a weekly team at the plant gate that is selling the socialist press and talking politics, Britton said. "Using some imagination in how we organize the sale raises the political level of the work and helps win recruits to our cause," he said.

At a large garment factory in Chicago one co-worker suggested that the team set up a literature table during their weekly sale outside. A livelier sale resulted.

Britton proposed that the National Committee approve a request by the steering committees of the party's industrial union fractions to extend by two weeks the drive to win new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and to sell copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*. The extension, Britton said, "is to be movement-wide to fight to make every goal—fraction, branch, and international—enabling us to go into the convention with deeper relations with our co-workers and others, and increased recruitment opportunities." The meeting approved this proposal.

Britton described the solidarity that is

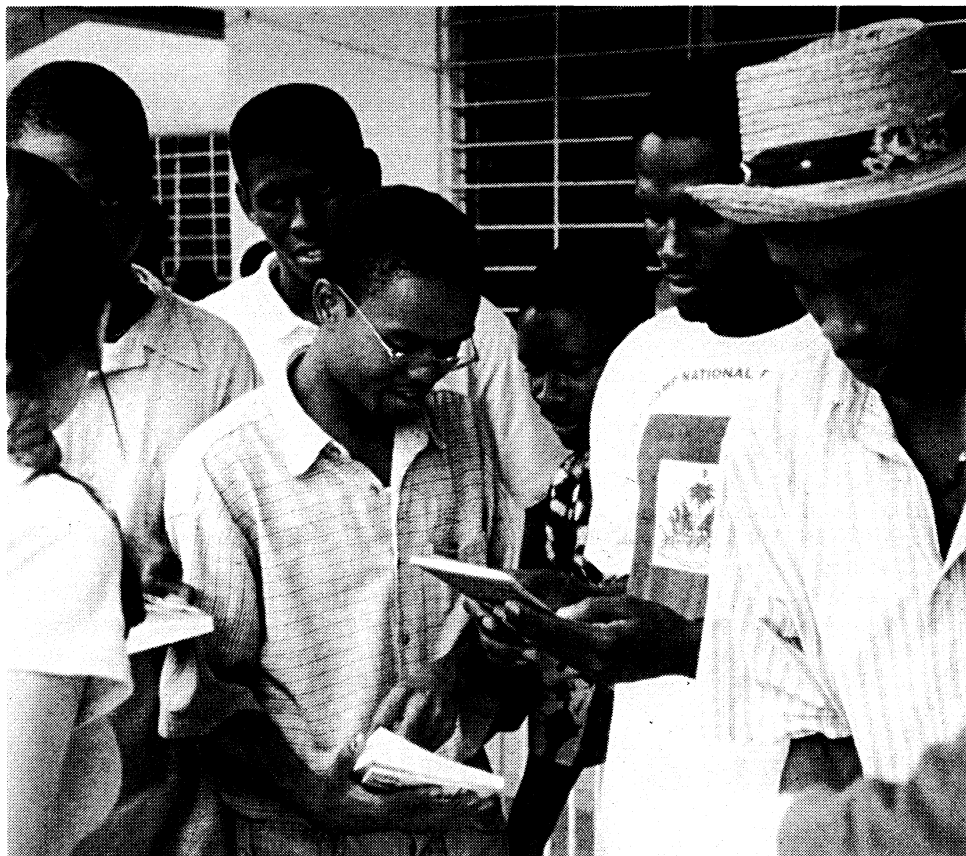
ties in country after country is an integral part of the work of the SWP and Young Socialists, said Jack Willey in his report, entitled, "Revolutionary Youth and Communist Nuclei."

"The communist movement is not yet known in most parts of the world, but at the same time working people are resisting and there is openness to our perspectives," he said.

Willey, a leader of the SWP, was part of a delegation invited to speak at a forum sponsored by the Young Socialists in Haiti. The May 17–18 event "offered an opportunity to present a world program for socialist revolution" to the 50 youth who attended, he said.

At the event itself, and off a table outside a university, socialist workers from Canada and the United States sold more than 70 Pathfinder titles in French. The exchange has opened up possibilities for further collaboration with revolutionary-minded youth in Haiti.

Interest in revolutionary books and the ability to move them around in country af-



Militant/Jack Willey

Selling communist literature at a May 17–18 Young Socialists forum in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. The ability to sell Pathfinder books in country after country demonstrates the political space to begin building communist organizations around the world.

growing up among meat packers involved in struggles in the Midwest. This is manifest in back-and-forth messages of support between groups of workers who won a union representation election in Omaha, Nebraska; meat packers at Dakota Premium Foods who are fighting for a contract in St. Paul, Minnesota; and AMPAC workers in Chicago.

"Following the lines of resistance of working people will get us into struggles that have elements of a social movement," said Britton. "We will find individuals who continue to join fights."

The branch in Chicago has also carried out some effective work at book fairs and political events in the city. The local Pathfinder bookstore sold nearly \$3,000 worth of literature in one month. People participating in the Socialism 2000 conference organized by the International Socialist Organization purchased over \$1,000 worth of revolutionary books published by Pathfinder, Britton reported.

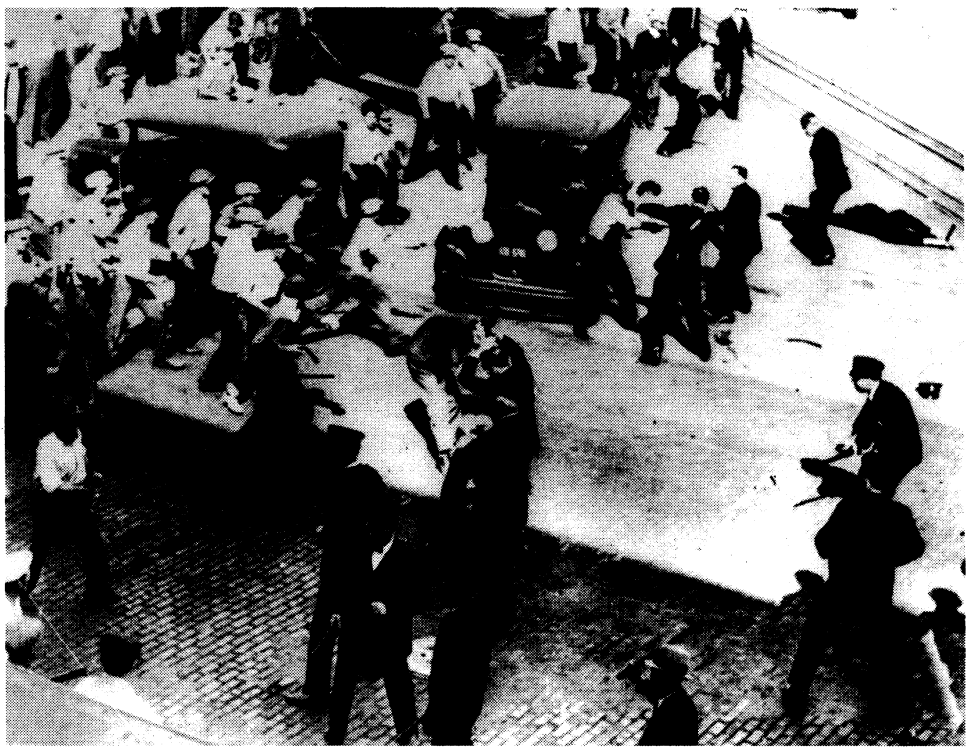
At the event socialist workers and young socialists were also able to join discussions and debates over the ISO's stance that there has not been a socialist revolution in Cuba. They also discussed why joining with bourgeois parties such as the Greens in electoral alliances heads the working class away from the fight for political power, and why a revolutionary strategy for power is based on the recognition that the imperialist powers remain organized on the basis of nation states.

Building the nuclei of communist par-

ter country is one example of the political space open to building the communist movement. The greatest obstacle facing revolutionary workers organizations from the 1930s was the Stalinist movement, he said—a movement that was responsible more than any state power for blocking interchange between revolutionary-minded working people. With the fall of the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, previously locked doors have begun to open for communist forces.

Along with Young Socialists from Britain and New Zealand, Willey will attend a July meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) in the Hungarian capital of Budapest—a meeting that will begin discussions on the host for the next festival, and on the event's political character. Together with other organizations, the YS has worked to reinforce the anti-imperialist character of the world youth festivals and other gatherings organized by WFDY.

The Cuban Revolution and the work of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) remains a crucial component of this struggle, Willey said. Revolutionary-minded youth are attracted to this revolution and want to emulate its example. That is why communist workers and young socialists in the United States help to distribute books by leaders of the revolution, build support for tours of leaders of the UJC to the United States where they can explain the truth about the first socialist revolution in the



Teamsters defend their picket line against a cop attack in Minneapolis in 1934. When mass working-class struggles break out, Barnes said, parties that have not prepared beforehand are shattered. Through its work in the coalfields and other initial struggles in the early 1930s, the Communist League of America, the forerunner of the SWP, was ready for the explosive developments in the labor movement.

Americas, and organize solidarity with Cuba. Today this includes the defense of five revolutionaries who were framed up by the U.S. government and are serving hard time in U.S. prisons.

Through this work "we are finding young people who are not won to the Stalinist counterfeit of communism, and who are hungry for revolutionary examples to learn from," Willey said. "We have been able to keep broadening the layers of youth and working people with whom we are collaborating, thereby expanding the prospects for building a world communist movement."

Socialist workers and youth from New Zealand are also expanding the reach of the communist movement in the South Pacific. They have been invited to New Caledonia, a French colony also known as Kanaky, to meet with revolutionary-minded workers who are interested in building a proletarian party.

Participants in the National Committee meeting brought recent experiences in organizing plant gate sales and in drawing workers and students closer to the movement.

Laura Garza and Ted Leonard from Boston described how as a result of consistent work on the job, regular workers district literature tables, and involvement in working-class struggles in the area, the attendance at the weekly Militant Labor Forum has picked up. Some workers coming around have begun making suggestions on new spots for sales tables, and in some cases have offered to help out on sales efforts here and there.

Discussion with students

Brian Taylor described political give-and-take with a student at a university in Alabama. SWP branch members have been meeting her for discussions on political questions several times a week, mostly at her request, he said. She brings questions and criticisms that are raised by professors and fellow students, some of whom are trying to win her away from her interest in the Young Socialists.

At the coal mine where he works, Taylor was recently encouraged by a co-worker with more years on the job to step up his political activity and show the *Militant* to more miners. "He let me know that I should use the political space that is open to me," Taylor said.

James Harris from Atlanta explained that he recently returned to visit farmers in southern Georgia who have been involved in the fight against discrimination by United States Department of Agriculture officials against Black farmers. Harris, who had worked closely with the farmers, said that one "welcomed me 'back on the team.' I realized I shouldn't have let as much time pass as I had done," Harris said.

"The farmers pointed out that if the *Militant* isn't covering their fight, no one will. Two farmers bought subscriptions to the paper on that trip."

Mary-Alice Waters said the central political challenge coming out of the meeting is to lead the party membership to transform their work and that of the branches, leaving behind the kind of routinism de-

scribed by several speakers because it blocks the ability of the party to attract workers. This is crucial in recruiting workers "as communists who are going to lead the working class to power."

Communist Leagues

The meeting registered a convergence of the political course of the Communist Leagues in several countries with that of the SWP. Of particular note was the founding convention of the Communist League in Iceland scheduled for June 29–30. Communist workers in the country have just published the first issue of *New International* in Icelandic and built union fractions in the fish processing and aluminum industries. The new organization will combine several generations of revolutionary workers, including a significant component of younger cadre.

In both Sweden and Britain Communist Leagues have established organizing committees, and members have gotten jobs and begun political work in meatpacking and garment plants. In the United Kingdom the organizing committee in Scotland has been instrumental in putting the league in touch with struggles of farmers and mine workers they would not have otherwise know about.

Capitalist economic crisis

In his report Barnes said that the world has entered a dangerous phase of the long-term capitalist crisis. In the United States this is marked by the ongoing decline of the stock market reinforced by corporate scandals, such as the \$3.8 billion accounting fraud just uncovered at WorldCom.

Recent sharp drops in the stock prices of what had been high-flying companies in the United States have dealt a blow to the idea that workers or middle-class layers can find a way to protect their savings, or that pension plans will somehow grow at the rate promised by investment funds.

The capitalist devastation that first gripped Argentina has now hit Brazil and Uruguay, but the U.S. rulers continue to do little in response. The IMF and other imperialist lending agencies, as well as top government officials, approach negotiations over new loans to Argentina, a sovereign nation and an economically weighty country in South America, as if they were shaking down the books of a corporation.

Barnes noted that the sell-off of state companies by capitalist regimes in Latin America—a measure promoted by the imperialists' International Monetary Fund and other proponents of the "free market"—is meeting resistance from working people. Selling a state-owned enterprise is a one-off deal, not a cash flow over years, he said. Once the sale is complete and the money spent, there is no income left to pay workers and invest in infrastructure. Argentina, whose government followed Washington's proposals along these lines during the 1990s, now has little or nothing left to sell to foreign investors.

In northern Mexico, U.S.-owned companies and other corporations are shutting down plants and moving them to China in

Continued on Page 14

Groups in Iceland join anti-China campaign

BY SIGURDUR HARALDSSON

REYKJAVIK, Iceland—The June 13–16 visit here by China's president, Jiang Zemin, was used by a number of organizations to launch a campaign against China for "human rights" abuses.

The Icelandic ruling class also took steps to erode workers' rights leading up to the visit. The government closed the borders to hundreds of members of Falun Gong who were traveling here from the United States and several European countries to stage a protest against Zemin. About 70 Falun Gong members who arrived two days prior to the arrival of the Chinese president were detained at a school close to the Keflavik international airport, but were later let into the country.

The reactionary organization, which casts itself as a religious group, calls the government in Beijing "a Communist regime that has committed some of the worst human rights atrocities in recent history." The group was banned in China after organizing unauthorized demonstrations there.

According to the newspaper *Fréttabladid*, Icelandic state police gathered information about Falun Gong members from various countries. The cops gave the airlines a list of people to be stopped from entering the country. In the process, the Icelandic police either barred from entry or refused to grant visas to some professional people of Chinese origin who were on their way to a medical conference. As part of the anti-China campaign, Falun Gong members and others claimed the list was provided to the airlines by the Chinese government.

Campaign to smear China

In the wake of these moves, members of Falun Gong, various liberal organizations, and the big-business media tried to smear the Chinese workers state. Much of the TV news and many front-page newspaper articles were devoted to the treatment of the Falun Gong members in China, as well as human rights violations by the Chinese state.

Minister of Justice Sólveig Pétursdóttir said the Icelandic government was simply respecting a request from the Chinese leadership, and that "these actions are meant to protect law and order and make it possible for Icelandic police officers to secure the safety of a foreign heads of state who visit Iceland."

During a TV program the Chinese ambassador was asked if his government had requested the ban on Falun Gong members being let into the country and if it had provided the Icelandic government with a list of members of the organization. The ambassador replied that they had done neither.

In the same program Pétursdóttir confirmed that the Chinese ambassador had not requested that Falun Gong members be banned from entering the country. She said the decision to keep them out was based on not having enough police officers to handle several hundred protesters if they became aggressive, adding that she is always willing to strengthen the police if needed.

Halldór Ásgrímsson, minister of foreign affairs, made similar remarks in a June 13 interview with the *Fréttabladid*. The same day the board of the Union of Police sent out a declaration saying that the statements by the officials support the position of the Union of Police that it is necessary to in-

crease the size and funding for the force.

Youth groups affiliated to bourgeois political parties in Iceland called a demonstration to coincide with the visit by the delegation from China.

The Young Left Green, which many view as the "far left" in Icelandic politics, issued a statement protesting the treatment of Falun Gong, saying that "Jiang Zemin's government is guilty of extensive human rights violations."

Their statement added: "Now it is clear that the government [of Iceland] has made a total disgrace of itself internationally by bending to the demands of the Chinese government and refusing to let the Falun Gong into the country."

The capitalist daily *Morgunbladid* ran a full-page ad apologizing to Falun Gong for the "incomprehensible" actions of the Icelandic authorities. The text condemned "human rights violations of the Beijing tyranny on the Chinese mainland as well as China's occupied areas." The statement was signed by many well-known individuals in Iceland, running the political spectrum from left liberals to prominent spokespeople for the death penalty.

The next day a U.S.-based organization called Friends of the Falun Gong paid for a similar full-page ad in *Morgunbladid*. Some 2,000 people turned up for the protest.

Response of Chinese immigrants

Many Chinese immigrants in Iceland, especially workers, had a different reaction, but their response did not get much coverage in the media. A number of Chinese immigrants in Iceland were active in defending the president during his visit.

The immigrants organized to greet Zemin upon arrival with red flags and banners. At a fish plant in the capital, one Chinese worker explained that all the workers of Chinese origin who work there took time off that day to take part in the welcoming events.

The Organizing Committee for a Communist League in Iceland issued a statement that was well received by people buying the *Militant* during the visit.

"The moves by the Icelandic government against tourists on passenger jets coming to Iceland are part of increasing attacks on democratic rights," the statement said. "According to the news, almost everyone of Asian origins was arrested upon arriving in Iceland, including professionals attending a scientific conference in Reykjavik. The Icelandic gov-

Navistar security goon drives van into strikers, injuring three



Three members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 444 were injured June 24 when a security goon hired by the Navistar International Corporation ran over six of them in a van. The unionists were picketing the plant in Chatham, Ontario, to help 600 members of CAW Local 127 stop the company from breaking their strike with scabs. Don Milner, 37, a skilled trades worker at the Windsor Assembly Plant was in surgery for more than five hours as doctors worked to reconnect his pelvis, repair soft tissue injuries, and control internal bleeding. Following the picket line attack, the company remained closed for the rest of the day. The driver of the van, an employee of London Protection International, has been charged with three counts of dangerous driving causing bodily harm.

ernment seeks to test out its new anti-terrorist and immigration laws for everyone to see; to strengthen the Icelandic police and gather support for its enlargement and for some kind of an army unit; and to smear the image of the Chinese workers state."

The Communist League statement pointed out that over the previous weeks the Icelandic government had deported 20 Romanian Gypsies from the country who were seeking asylum, and turned back a group of Albanians without them having a chance to explain their case publicly. A month earlier "the authorities closed the borders, using an exemption clause to wall off a high-level meeting of NATO officials. The government

took the opportunity to put armed security guards in domestic airports for the first time."

"Young people who want to fight against oppression, injustice, and defend democratic rights have many opportunities to link up with others fighting against capitalist exploitation and oppression," the statement said. "They should take part in and help advance these struggles, which are directed against the employers and their government and serve to protect the privileged propertied class."

Sigurdur Haraldsson is a member of the Hlíf General Workers Union Hafnarfirði and the Organizing Committee for a Communist League in Iceland.

Court ends U.S. executions of mentally retarded

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In two major rulings the U.S. Supreme Court dealt blows to state death penalty laws that will result in reversal of death sentences for several hundred people. The rulings, though far-reaching, were on the criteria state governments can use for imposing the death penalty, not on the constitutionality of this barbaric practice itself.

On June 20 the Supreme Court in a 6-3 vote ruled that executing individuals who are mentally disabled is a violation of the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution that bars "cruel and unusual punishment." The decision reverses the court's 1989 ruling,

where the justices then argued that "there is insufficient evidence of a national consensus" from which to conclude that such executions violated the country's "evolving standards of decency."

Since that time the number of states prohibiting the execution of mentally retarded prisoners rose from 2 to 18. The current ruling comes in the case of Daryl Atkins, a Virginia inmate, but will affect scores of death-row prisoners in the 20 states that still allow such executions to take place.

According to the Death Penalty Information Center, some 35 mentally retarded individuals have been executed since the court permitted states to resume capital punishment in 1976. Human Rights watch, another anti-death penalty group, says there are 200 to 300 retarded inmates among the death row population of more than 3,700 persons.

The case addressed mildly mentally retarded people, defined as having an IQ of between 50 and 70. The court majority said that a mentally disabled person's "impairments can jeopardize the reliability and fairness of capital proceedings against mentally retarded defendants." As a footnote, Justice Stevens pointed to the cases of two mentally retarded death row inmates who "confessed" to murders that were later disproved with DNA evidence.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist, and Justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas opposed the majority decision. Scalia read his opinion from the bench, something reserved for times when a justice strongly disagrees with the majority. Scalia said the ruling had contrived an "artificial" national consensus. "Seldom has an opinion of this court rested so obviously upon nothing but the personal views of its members," he wrote.

The execution of mentally retarded people received its most notorious promo-

tion in 1992 when William Clinton, during the Democratic primary race for U.S. president, flew to Arkansas to personally oversee the state killing of Ricky Ray Rector, who was mentally disabled.

Bars judge-only death sentences

In the second Supreme Court case, the justices voted 7-2 on June 24 that Arizona's death-sentencing law violates the defendants' constitutional right to a trial by jury. This ruling repudiated the court's 1990 decision that at the time upheld Arizona's death penalty law.

The court in effect ruled that the decision to impose capital punishment on an individual must be made by a jury, not a judge. Writing for the majority, Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg said that the right to a jury trial "would be senselessly diminished if it encompassed the fact-finding necessary to increase a defendant's sentence by two years, but not the fact-finding necessary to put him to death."

Under Arizona's death penalty law judges alone decide whether a convicted individual should be sentenced to death. Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and Nebraska have similar laws. Together with Arizona they have a combined death row population of 168.

This decision also puts in question the laws in four other states—Alabama, Delaware, Florida, and Indiana—where the judge decides between life and death after hearing a jury's recommendation. These five states have 569 people on death row.

It's unclear what will happen to the hundreds of prisoners affected by this ruling. Some "inmates" sentences could be commuted to life in prison," noted an Associated Press dispatch on the decision, "or the inmates could be resentenced, with some receiving death sentences all over again."

Updated addresses for writing to the five Cuban revolutionaries

Five Cuban revolutionaries are serving 15 years to life in U.S. prisons on frame-up conspiracy charges. There are three useful web sites with extensive information in Spanish on their fight. They are: www.granma.cubweb.cu; <http://www.jrebelde.cubaweb.cu/inocentes/index.html>; and www.perspectiva.mundial.com. Readers can also find material in English at: www.themilitant.com.

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Workers in Poland protest plant closings by capitalist bosses

BY GREG MCCARTAN

An economic slowdown in Poland, and growing pressure from the European Union (EU) for Warsaw to accept a two-tier system of subsidies to farmers as well as sales of land to foreigners, have increased polarization in the country over entry into the EU.

With a population of 40 million, Poland represents nearly half the people living in the 10 countries whose governments have applied to join the EU by 2004.

Workers at the shipyard in Szczecin have been holding protests over the capitalist owners' decision in March to close the facility and stop paying the 6,000 employees. A rally by workers in May demanded back pay and government intervention to keep the shipyard open. Their actions led the government to step in and announce a renationalization of the company, which had been sold to former managers in the 1990s.

A month later, Jacek Piechota, Poland's minister of the economy, told a rally of 3,000 workers that the banks had refused to back the government plan, forcing the company to declare bankruptcy. Workers pelted Piechota with eggs as he emerged to report the news after a meeting with company officials.

Reporting from Szczecin, Ian Fisher wrote in the *New York Times* that many shipyard workers blame the private owners for driving the company into the ground. "Polish yuppies!" protest organizer Janusz Gajek said of the bosses. Another added, "What about the rest of us? The relationship between managers and workers has been broken."

The company cites a slowdown in the world market for new ships and a strong zloty, the Polish currency, as two reasons for the plant closure.

In the city of Lublin, workers at a Daewoo truck plant have been staging a hunger strike since the company closed its doors earlier this year. The plant employed 3,800 workers.

The layoffs from the shipyard and Daewoo will add to an official unemployment rate that already stands at 18 percent, with levels hitting 35 percent in some areas. This is up from just under 10 percent in the mid-1990s, when the economy was growing at an annual rate of 7 percent. This year growth has dropped to 1 percent. The economic slowdown in Germany is a major cause of the crisis, since Germany is Poland's main trading partner.

'A queue of potential bankruptcies'

The top boss at the German Deutsche Bank in Poland said the plant closings are not confined to Daewoo and the shipyard. "There is a queue of other potential bankruptcies, and it worries me," he told the press.

The banker condemned what he sees as Warsaw's lack of efforts to sell off enterprises to capitalist concerns or simply shut

down other basic industries that are still in state hands. "The government has no guts to reverse the situation in a decisive way," he complained.

Stanislaw Gomulka, a professor at the London School of Economics who has advised Warsaw since 1989, said that the "government is a little bit afraid that if it imposes radical laws that are opposed by the trade unions that we will have street fights, demonstrations, large political fights."

Economic growth and foreign capital investment in Poland during the 1990s led to a rapid expansion of middle-class and emerging capitalist layers, especially in the cities. The country was held up by spokespeople for various imperialist powers as an example of the advantages capitalism holds for the workers states in central and eastern Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union.

But in the countryside there was noticeably less change. And, with the economic downturn, many working people are questioning the "virtues" of the market economy.

Farmers face crisis

Poland retains one of the largest acreages of agricultural land in Europe. About 33 percent of its population lives in rural areas and 2.6 million people work on the land, or about 25 percent of working people. In the neighboring Czech Republic, by contrast, about 5 percent of people are employed on the land.

Half the country's 2 million farms are mainly subsistence operations, producing only a small quantity of goods for sale. Around 70 percent of all farms cover less than 20 acres.

In talks on expanding the European Union eastward, EU officials have pushed for opening up sales of land in new member countries and acceptance of a system of subsidies rigged to limit the total funds Poland receives. About half the EU budget of 90 billion euros (1 euro - US 98 cents) currently goes to farm subsidies.

In order to hold off purchases of large swaths of land by wealthy foreign interests,



Shipyard workers in Szczecin, Poland, hold rally in May demanding back pay and government intervention to keep the shipyard open. Capitalist bosses shut down facility in March and stopped paying 6,000 employees.

the Polish government sought an 18-year moratorium on private land sales. After Brussels applied pressure, agreement was reached on a 12-year ban on sales to foreigners. Discussions on farm subsidies have been put off until after the elections in Germany, but as the plan now stands farmers in Poland and other new entrants would initially receive only 25 percent of the subsidies afforded farmers in the EU. In addition to vast differences in levels of productivity between farms in Eastern and Western Europe, this subsidy gap would further disadvantage farmers in Poland.

The *Financial Times* reported that "Germany, like Sweden, the Netherlands and Britain, is adamant direct payments should be linked to a reform of the costly common agricultural policy.... The last thing all four net contributors want is to agree to open-ended subsidies to East European farmers."

The government in Warsaw is led by the Democratic Left Alliance, a social democratic party. The alliance is pushing EU membership, saying that it will bring markets for goods produced in Poland and opportunities for jobs in Western Europe. It has enlisted the Catholic Church hierarchy in the campaign to shore up support in ad-

vance of a referendum on joining the EU in 2003.

As in EU member states, national socialist and rightist parties in Poland are building their political currents by campaigning against the EU. They blame the worsening economic crisis on moves by the government to bring Poland into line with the host of regulations stipulated by Brussels. One such party, Self Defense, holds 53 seats in Parliament and is organizing rallies of workers and farmers against the EU.

The party's leader Andrzej Lepper uses radical and often anti-German demagoguery in his campaign. "Sooner or later, every German leader starts talking about the need for living space," he told one press briefing. "History likes to repeat itself. It was different then because Hitler was producing tanks and rifles. The weapons used now are the printing facilities that make dollars and euros."

There are real worries among farmers that they will lose their land with EU membership. "When the borders fall," one farmer told a reporter, "Germans will come, buy up the land, and we will become farmhands. If the union comes, this is what will happen."

Pathfinder has big sales at Chicago book fair

BY CLAUDIA HOMMEL

CHICAGO—On June 1, a beautiful day in Chicago, thousands of book-lovers browsed through the six blocks of stalls of "more than 170 of the nation's best new, used, antiquarian and rare booksellers and publishers," as described by the official guide for the Printers Row Book Fair. Pathfinder Press was there, represented by Chicago Pathfinder Books & Libros. On the first day of the 18th annual fair people purchased more than \$600 worth of Pathfinder titles. The second day, with a colder rain-threat-

ening sky above, the sales were even more brisk, bringing the two-day total to more than \$1,375 in books. In addition participants in the fair purchased five *Militant* subscriptions, 15 single issues of the paper, and one subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The sale of 123 books and pamphlets more than doubled the previous high for sales set in 1998. Pathfinder has participated in the Printers Row Book Fair for a decade. Sales of 83 different titles also marked a change, indicating interest in reading about a broad range of developments in world politics.

In previous years books about the Cuban Revolution had been the only substantial category of sales. This year there were eight categories fair-goers showed interest in. These included Black and African struggles, Jewish and Middle East questions, labor issues, Latin American and Caribbean struggles, and speeches and writings by Malcolm X, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, and Jack Barnes, the author of *Capitalism's World Disorder*, *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, and a number of other titles featured at the Pathfinder booth.

Pathfinder Books supporters organized to pack a large number of titles into a small space. A wire rack and a wooden shelf, along with two rows of books resting spine up, helped expand the spread of titles available. An easel with a large display poster helped attract attention. Below it, pamphlets were displayed on a literature rack, and a box on the ground contained an assortment of marked-down books.

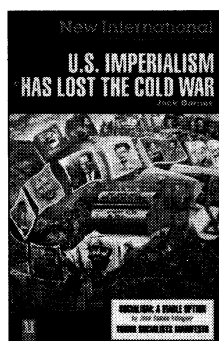
Among the best selling titles were *February 1965: The Final Speeches* by Malcolm X, *Capitalism's World Disorder*, *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, and *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*.

Visitors to the booth were often standing three-deep to get a look at the range of titles. One was a Ukrainian Jewish immigrant opposed to Zionism who found it refreshing to discuss the Middle East with one of the volunteers. Several young people wanted to learn more about socialism and ended up putting down their names for more information about the weekly *Militant* Labor Forums held at the Pathfinder bookstore. An environmental consultant who travels frequently to Cuba for agricultural projects brought a friend to the table to introduce her to books on Cuba. A new subscriber to the *Militant* said she was inspired to read more about Cuba because a family member had just returned from the island.

After looking over the table, several people asked, "Who is Jack Barnes?" and wanted to know more about the movement he spoke for. This led to discussions about the Socialist Workers Party, of which Barnes is the national secretary, and the prospects for building a proletarian party in the United States. An older trade union member wanted to make sure the Pathfinder edition of *Eugene V. Debs Speaks* was the "right one, the one with [James P.] Cannon's introduction."

Bookstore volunteers made sure there were at least four people staffing the table at all times, which made a difference in the overall sales results. In all, 20 people, many of them socialist workers and young socialists, put in a total of 84 hours staffing the booth.

Among the volunteers, several were staffing a table of socialist literature for the first time. Two young people who regularly attend *Militant* Labor Forums joined the effort. One, who works at a garment plant, was thrilled after she sold a customer her first title, the Spanish edition of Rafael Cancel Miranda's *Puerto Rico: Independence is a Necessity*.



In New International no. 11

- Two programmatic documents of the Socialist Workers Party: **U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War** by Jack Barnes and **The Communist Strategy of Party Building Today** by Mary-Alice Waters
- **Socialism: A viable Option** by José Ramón Balaguer
- **Young Socialist Manifesto**

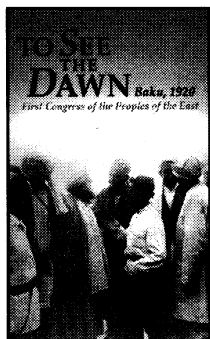
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Hopis fight Peabody Coal over water rights

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loose-knit Indian Waters Coalition with a number of other tribes after meetings that occurred in Seattle and Denver. "I am going to testify before a hearing organized by Hawaii senator Daniel Inouye who heads up the Indian Affairs Committee in the U.S. Senate," Selestewa stated.

"We are trying to untangle the whole mess. Every time you try to find the government agency that is supposed to deal with this issue you are told to go someplace else—sometimes it's the Department of Defense, the Army Corps of Engineers, the Office of Surface Mining, or the Environmental Protection Agency," Selestewa said.

The Hopi and Navajo's fight to protect their water is getting a much broader hearing. Recently major articles about their struggle have appeared in the Grand Junction *Sentinel* and Albuquerque *Journal*.

"We went to the shareholders meeting of Lehman Brothers, the company that owns Peabody," Selestewa explained. "We said that it was fine to be making money but it shouldn't be done by depleting the Hopi and Navajo's resource of water. They passed a resolution trying to get the Indians off their back."

In a move that further compromises the water situation, Hopi Tribal Council members have entered into discussions with the Reliant Power Company to build a coal-fired power plant on the reservation. Reliant was recently charged with unlawful trading practices during last summer's California power crisis.

Currently, as seen in practically every page of the May issue of the official Hopi paper the *Tutuveni*, there are many community forums being organized to discuss what the power plant would mean for the Hopi people.

The plant is projected to create 400 new jobs and needed energy for the reservation. However, after inspecting the proposed contracts, Black Mesa Trust discovered that the jobs were not guaranteed to the Hopi people. Also the plant would be 75 percent Hopi-

owned yet they would only have 50 percent voting rights in all issues concerning its operation. Reliant would have control over the other 50 percent.

The most pressing concern is the further exploitation of Hopi water sources. In or-

der to build this plant the company must have access to a "firm water supply." It does not have this.

The plant would use 2,500 acre-feet or 815 million gallons of water each year in its operation.

"We are confident we can win," Selestewa said. "There are other ways—like rail—to send the coal to Nevada. One of the things that we are most pleased with is that many of the Navajo miners at Black Mesa have told us they agree with our fight."

Workers in Greece strike for pay, pensions

Continued from Page 16

pecially in the greenhouses, face dangerous job conditions due to chemicals used in intensive cultivation. Although many workers in Marathonas have health insurance, the bosses refuse to give any money to the fund. Workers are thus forced to pay some of the 500 euros a year for state health insurance.

Another issue in the strike is the inhuman housing conditions. Like most farm workers in Marathonas, Nawaz lives with 10 other co-workers in two small rooms provided by his boss.

In the face of such conditions, Nawaz and others organized the strike by talking with workers in the fields and greenhouses throughout the region. They formed a representative committee of two Indians, two Pakistanis, and two Egyptians. Among those they talked to were a few Greek and Albanian workers who decided not to participate in the strike.

With the mediation of the mayor of Marathonas, they agreed to go back to work and give the employers 20 days to come up with an answer to their demands.

By firing the most active workers in the strike, the employers hope to use this time to their advantage. The fired workers face an uphill battle to get their jobs back. They have filed a complaint with the ministry of labor that is scheduled to be heard July 8.

Voicing the support of the General Confederation of Workers in Greece (GSEE), union official Dimitris Stratoulis told the *Athens News* that the federation's legal services were at the workers' disposal. "If we tolerate [these conditions] today for migrant workers it will soon apply for Greek workers as well," he said.

General strike

This bold action by immigrant farm workers comes in the context of resistance against government attacks on pensions. On June

18, the day before the parliamentary vote on measures attacking social security, the GSEE and the confederation of civil service unions (ADEDY) staged a general strike. Despite the fact that a significant section of GSEE's leadership, which is loyal to the governing social democratic PASOK party, opposed it, the strike paralyzed transportation and many large industries, such as shipyards and oil refineries.

Parliament approved the measures, which include extending the working years necessary to retire by two and decreasing the pensions workers overall will receive by 10 percent. The government had attempted much deeper cuts a year ago, arguing that an aging population would lead to bankruptcy of the retirement fund. Broad resistance by working people pushed back the assault.

The Greek Maritime Workers Federation

(PNO) called for an ongoing strike and continued their work stoppage through June 21, causing sea transportation to come to a halt. PNO's main demand is for the increase of pensions to 70 percent of wages, up from the current 60 percent. The government went on a propaganda campaign aiming at pitting other working people against the maritime unions, by pointing to dwindling food supplies in the country's many islands and the loss of tourist revenue.

In a move designed to chill broader labor resistance, the government broke the strike by invoking an emergency military conscription law, under which the strikers could face court martial if they did not return to work.

Natasha Terlexis and Bobbis Misailides work at the Athens airport.

U.S. places demands on Palestinians

Continued from Page 7

which—according to official figures—4,500 Palestinians were detained, military and government officials declared that Israeli citizens would be safe from attack for several months.

The widespread defiance among Palestinians did not flag, however, in spite of ongoing raids into Palestinian territory, blockades of cities and towns, and tighter restrictions on travel in the West Bank. Four bombings by Palestinians between May 19 and June 18 killed 40 Israelis, including a number of soldiers June 5. Over the past 21 months Palestinians have carried out 70 such bombings.

Dissociating himself from the June 21 cabinet statement announcing the new invasion, Defence Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer said that "when you speak of occupation the meaning is that you start dealing with everything from health to sewage.

That's not the intention. The intention is a presence on the ground in light of present reality, for as much time as necessary."

Three days later, as the government announced it was calling up 2,000 army reservists for the "crushing offensive" now under way, the minister said that the deployment would last up to six months.

Ben-Eliezer also warned that "unfortunately, while the IDF [Israeli Defence Force] is carrying out these necessary actions, the operations themselves become a hothouse that produces more and more new suicide bombers."

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

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Death of a Bureaucrat. 1966 Cuban Movie Satirizing Governmental Bureaucracy. Followed by discussion. Fri., July 5, 7:30 p.m. 4208 W. Vernor. Tel: (313) 554-0504.

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The Legacy of Iran's Revolution Today and the Palestinian People's Fight to Regain Their Land. Celebrate the Grand Opening of the New Location of the Pathfinder Bookstore. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani, Farsi-language editor of Pathfinder Press. Sat., June 29, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:00 p.m. Bookstore will be open from 11:00 a.m. 168 Bloomfield., 2nd Floor. Donation: \$10 for dinner and program. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

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Garment District

Behind the Attempt to Expand the FBI's Powers. Speaker: Greg McCartan, *Militant* editor. Fri., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 693-7358.

Upper Manhattan

U.S. Out of Indian Subcontinent! What's Behind the India-Pakistan Conflict. Speaker: Patrick O'Neill, *Militant* correspondent. Fri., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

A Socialist Answer to Zionism. Speaker: Joanne Kuniansky, Communist League, member, Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union. Sun., July 7, 4:00 p.m. 1st floor, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9718-9698.

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New Zealand Colonial Rule in the Pacific. Fri., July 5, 7:00 p.m. 129 Gloucester St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (03) 365-6055.

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Peak in capitalist democracy—
A federal appeals court ruled that New York cops cannot deny homeless people the right to sleep on the



Harry Ring

steps of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church. Across the street from the swank Trump Towers and surrounded by upscale shops, the church has stood fast in opening its steps to the needy.

Try stuffing them in cargo—
According to the *Times* of London, "Giving passengers more leg room on flights puts them at greater risk of being trapped on a burning aircraft, a British study has found." We couldn't make sense of the explanation but we do recall that not too many months back there were several reports of passengers on long flights suffering heart trouble attributed to clogged blood circulation. The *Times* didn't mention this problem.

A philosophical problem—In "tolerant" San Francisco, Latino motorists are nearly three times more likely to be searched when stopped. For Black motorists, the odds are 3.5

times as likely. Explained the chief cop: "It's not the result of racial profiling. There's a lot of sociological factors involved, and it's a complicated issue."

Maybe they pointed guns—
"Geneva, New York—Two teens have been accused of serving spoiled and contaminated food to police officers at the fast-food restaurant where they used to work."—AP.

Even cops could understand—
In Los Alamitos, California, a man was booked after he was heard screaming, "I'm going to kill you!" However, subsequent investigation confirmed he was yelling at his computer.

Leave it to them—"Five years after the World Food Organization promised to halve the number of hungry people by 2015 a follow-up summit opens today with no significant change in that number, officials say."—*USA Today*, June 10.

Like we were saying—
"ROME—A UN World Food Summit ends Thursday with calls to end the scourge of hunger, but differences on how to go about it appear wider than ever after four days of controversy and bickering."—Reuters, June 14.

Left in suspenders—In Brooklyn, Rabbi Yakove Lloyd called a press conference to cover the for-

mation of an armed patrol to protect a neighborhood against terrorist attack. The head of the right-wing Jewish Defense Group, asserted a platoon of 100 would show up. None did. He conceded that community response was "overwhelmingly negative" and declared the vigilante project "suspended."

Big eye in the sky—"Rusk County authorities will be able to monitor drinking parties from the air this year after the state reinstated partial funding for the program. The program funds aircraft to fly over hot spots looking for evidence of underage drinking parties."—News item.

Hopi people fight Peabody Coal over water rights

BY EMILY PAUL
AND JACK PARKER

MOENKOPI, Arizona—Black Mesa Trust, an organization of Hopi Native American activists, has made important progress in its fight to take back their most precious resource, water, from the exploitative grasp of Peabody Coal Company.

Early this year, in an attempt to maximize profits at its Black Mesa mine, Peabody Coal submitted a permit request that contains a 32 percent increase in water use for its slurry operation. The slurry uses 3.3 million gallons of water per day to flush the coal through a pipeline 273 miles long to the Mohave Generating Station in Laughlin, Nevada, which generates electricity for Las Vegas, Nevada; Los Angeles; and Phoenix.

Black Mesa mine sits on the Hopi and Navajo lands and the water comes from the Navajo Aquifer, which lies underneath the entire area. The 273-mile slurry is the only one of its kind in the United States.

Black Mesa Trust recently submitted hundreds of pages of comments against Peabody's request as a part of the permit application process regulated by the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement.

"We jumped on the issue," Leonard Selestewa, a leader of Black Mesa Trust, told the *Militant*. "It was difficult because Peabody submitted their request at the beginning of our most sacred holy months. This is a time when things are at a standstill, a time when there are no meetings and business, a time when we clear our minds of negative thoughts."

The first step was to look at the actual request for the revision, which was difficult since three out of the four copies made available were placed far out of the way of most Hopis and Navajos. "One copy was in Denver and another in Albuquerque. A third was in Forest Lake, a small isolated village on the Navajo reservation," Selestewa explained.

"Peabody wants to mine more coal and up the ante from 4,200 acre feet of water to 5,700 acre feet per day for use in their slurry," Selestewa continued. "They also want a Life of the Mine permit. Right now they have an Administrative Delay permit. If they get a Life of the Mine permit it will make it much more difficult to prove that Peabody is hurting the aquifer."

Black Mesa Trust representatives transcribed the permit request into laymen's terms to make it broadly accessible to the Hopi and Navajo population. "We testified before all the meetings that were organized on the reservation and we won," Selestewa said. "For the first time, the Office of Surface Mining refused to grant Peabody's request for a revision, instead they ordered a new environmental impact study."

Peabody and the U.S. government have a long history of exploitation on native lands. In 1934 the Bureau of Indian Affairs used the Indian Recognition Act—which the government claimed was designed to reduce exploitation of tribal land—to set up tribal councils that authorized the extraction of valuable resources from the sovereign native areas. In 1966, John Boyden negotiated a lease on behalf of the Hopi to set up the Black Mesa mine. It was later discovered that Boyden was representing Peabody in the negotiations as well as the Hopi, creating a very poor and unfair contract for the Hopi and Navajo.

Coal companies are the main source of income for the Navajo and Hopi. Peabody

alone pays \$13 million in royalties to the Hopi reservation, yet these are only pennies on each dollar that Peabody makes.

The slurry operation comes at a great cost to the aquifer. Documentation collected by the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental group that works with Black Mesa Trust, shows that the Office of Surface Mining (OSM), charged by Congress with regulating surface mining on native lands, has continually ignored important regulations to protect that water supply. The OSM has often employed outdated information to make decisions or simply not bothered to even collect or view the data.

In its 35 years of operation, Black Mesa has illegally obtained dozens of permits through the OSM, giving it permission to build large dams and construct more than 222 small ponds. Part of the permit granting procedure allows for public review. However, until Peabody's most recent proposal this step was passed over, and the company's requests were granted without resistance. Peabody has also operated with interim permits, another trick that allows them to ignore mining regulations.

The Natural Resources Defense Council's October 2000 report "Drawdown: Groundwater Mining on Black Mesa" states, "The Office of Surface Mining is supposed to ensure that local springs and washes, which irrigate Hopi crops, do not drop below 10 percent, however surveys conducted by the U.S. Geological Survey show that springs have dropped up to 30 percent and washes have declined by 25 percent. Water levels have decreased 100 feet in local wells."

"The stream through my village of Moenkopi is drying up," Leonard Selestewa said. "When I was a child I grew up playing with the pollywogs, we had a swimming hole, and at this time of year the stream was two to three feet deep. Now it does not run after May and it will not start back until October."

The Navajo Aquifer is the main source of drinking water for the Hopi people living in the area and its long-term viability should be protected under the Safe Drinking Water Act of the Federal Sole Source Aquifer Protection Program.

"Peabody takes water from the Navajo Aquifer, which is the lowest aquifer because it is the best water with fewest minerals and it will not corrode the pipes of its slurry," continued Selestewa. "The slurry has lasted past its projected life because Peabody used the best water and the slurry has no corrosion."

According to the Environmental Protection Agency's records, between 1994 and 1999 the slurry pipeline that Peabody's Black Mesa mine uses to transport coal has failed 12 times. This led to contamination of water on the land of ranchers and farmers, with grave implications for the crops and water used by people. After each failure corrective action was promised but no such action ever occurred.

"We cannot compete with Peabody's abuse of the aquifer," Selestewa said. "The water cannot be recharged. Wells are running dry throughout this area."

"Farming in this part of the Southwest is a science because it is so dry," Selestewa said. "My father taught me everything I know—how to watch the weather and how to use the water."

"Every farmer in Moenkopi has a 20-acre plot that is allotted by the government," Selestewa said. "All of the plots need to be irrigated. We grow corn; casaba and musk-



Militant/Steve Marshall

Navajo cow herders guide cattle by the Peabody Coal Kayenta mine in Arizona. Native American activists are fighting move by Peabody to expand its control over water rights on Hopi and Navajo lands. Through its operations the coal giant has contaminated the water supply vital to the livelihood of ranchers and farmers in the area.

melons; pinto, lima, gray, and navy beans; squash; and small chilies. Everyone in our village of 1,500 survives because of our farms."

"Our biggest fear is that the government will delay things or grant Peabody a tem-

porary permit until 2015 or 2030," Selestewa said. "If they are not stopped there will be an exodus of our people. We have lived here for over 1,000 years."

Black Mesa Trust has helped form a

Continued on Page 12

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

25 CENTS
THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

July 8, 1977

SAN FRANCISCO—A tremendous throng of more than 200,000 turned out here June 26 for a gay rights demonstration. The giant march through the city's downtown area paid tribute to the memory of Robert Hillborough, a homosexual who was murdered some seventy-two hours earlier by hoodlums screaming "Faggot, faggot" as they stabbed him to death.

This city has a large gay community, perhaps one of the largest in the country. Each year there has been a big turn out for Gay Freedom Day. Last year 100,000 participated. But previous parades were marked by a largely festive and even carnival atmosphere. This year was entirely different.

Anita Bryant's campaign of bigotry and hate has evoked a deep anger here. That anger was intensified by the poisonous antigay declarations of John Briggs, a member of the California Senate and a contender for the Republican gubernatorial nomination.

Following the defeat for gay rights in Dade County, Florida, last month, Briggs declared his intention to introduce a bill authorizing the firing of gay teachers.

The Hillborough murder added even more fuel to the sentiment for a massive political protest.

"No more Miami's" and "Gay rights now" were the central slogans of today's demonstration. The marchers stepped out at noon for a parade of about a mile to the city's civic center. Equally impressive was the mass of people who lined the mile-long parade route, from start to finish. Lined up on both sides of the street, four or five deep and more, the great majority were clearly supporters of the demonstration.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

July 7, 1952

YOUNGSTOWN, June 24—Fifty-five thousand steelworkers in this major steel center started their strike of June 2 in a mood of lighthearted confidence. A feeling of power spread through the union ranks because for thousands of workers the strike of June 2, like that of May 7, was a real taste of independent job action. All steel strikes before 1946 were marred by the presence of scabs in the plants, and in the industry-wide strikes of 1946, 1949, and April 8 of this year, the steel corporations made elaborate and long-drawn shutdown preparations.

June 2 was different. Within minutes after the Supreme Court ruling on the seizure, the plants started going down. The daily flow of 25,000 tons of ingots in the Mahoning Valley steel producing district was turned off like a sink faucet.

The workers struck with such unity, abruptness and thoroughness that the usual arrogance of the mill foremen and superintendents was replaced by placating smiles. The editorial writers of the *Youngstown Vindicator* wrung their hands in impotent fury. "Never," they complained, "had costly blast furnaces been struck with such reckless abandon."

Picketing was apathetic the first week of the strike. Most workers felt that the man, called by steel union Secretary-Treasurer David J. MacDonald a "friend in the White House," would pull a new contract out of a magic hat. The collapse of negotiations on June 9 was like a splash of cold water. There is no longer any doubt in the minds of the steelworkers that hardships lie ahead in this struggle to win the union's demands.

Palestinians reject U.S. dictates

Continued from front page

pation and brutality. They affirm their refusal to be dispersed and discounted as a people, or to accept denial of their national rights as a historical fact. The Palestinians' continued standing up to the most powerful empire on earth and its colonial-settler partner reinforces the struggles of all working people around the world who face attacks by the employers and assaults by Washington and the other imperialist powers.

The Palestinians remain a thorn in the side of Washington, slowing down U.S. imperialism's maneuvers to launch a new assault on Iraq; moreover, they reject the "terrorism" framework the U.S. rulers use to justify everything from new military adventures to jailing U.S. citizens without charging them with a crime.

The Israeli regime's crackdown and occupation of Palestinian cities in the West Bank also underlines why workers and farmers should call for an immediate end to U.S. aid to Israel, and the total withdrawal of Israeli military and police forces from the occupied territories.

The U.S. president's list of demands is a prescription for intervention into every aspect of Palestinian government and public affairs. This is the very opposite of the national self-determination for which Palestinians have fought for decades.

A people that has won self-determination has the right to choose its own leaders and form of government, and to manage its own affairs free of interference from imperialist threats, blackmail, and military pressure. In fact, the very phrase "self-determination" did not appear in the June

24 speech or in subsequent remarks by Bush or other White House officials.

In such a context, the "provisional state of Palestine" that Bush said he would support once U.S. dictates are fulfilled is a denial of Palestinian sovereignty and an insult to their national dignity. How could the Palestinian people ever be free if they accept the kind of intervention demanded by Washington even before a state is born?

Working people in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank have outlasted repeated and escalating Israeli military offensives, and continue to resist in spite of the tightening strangulation of their cities and villages by razor-wire fences and police-military checkpoints. This is forcing divisions within the Israeli ruling class, which no longer speaks with a united voice.

Faced with this determination, and with the growing toll of Israeli citizens in the conflict, more Jewish people in Israel and elsewhere are questioning the whole oppressive setup. Some are starting to appreciate that the colonial-settler state, far from being a refuge, is a death trap for Jews everywhere.

The demand for, and the prospect of, a democratic, secular Palestine can mobilize the broadest alliance of Palestinians and working people who are Jewish in a revolutionary struggle to bring down the source of the conflict: the colonial-settler state of Israel.

No to Washington's dictates!
End all U.S. aid to Israel!
Self-determination for the Palestinian people!
For a democratic, secular Palestine!

A successful fund drive

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* thank everybody who contributed to the recent international fund drive. They also salute those who took responsibility for organizing the public meetings, phone calling, and other activities that went into making this a successful effort.

With the loose ends tied up and the remaining pledges collected, the final tally stands at \$71,865—more than 40 percent over the \$50,000 goal set when the drive was launched on May 1. Among the 32 areas in the United States and seven other countries where supporters combined their efforts and set a collective goal, only two didn't make or overshoot their mark. In both cases, they reached 99 percent!

The money raised was only one of the successes of the drive. Public meetings in almost every local area were well attended and provided an opportunity for lively political discussions on questions of world importance for working people. Many of the reports indicate that the workers and youth coming to the meetings are among those who are reading the socialist press and are interested in the communist movement. It is a good sign for the future and reinforces the importance of the fund.

Such fund appeals are part of a proud tradition of the revolutionary working-class movement. As one of the *Militant's* weekly reports on the drive puts it, "the revolutionary press does not benefit from the backing of wealthy

capitalists, any more than it dances to their political tune. The working people who write for, read, and distribute these periodicals are also the main source of the funds that are needed to make up the large gap between sales income and publication expenses."

For anyone who either missed making a contribution, or for those who can dig a little deeper to give more, we encourage you to donate to the travel fund that will help finance a remarkable trio of reporting trips over the next month. Teams of socialist workers and young socialists will head to Venezuela, Paraguay, and Argentina, where—in different ways—the capitalist economic crisis is generating broad struggles by workers, peasants, and youth. Those struggles are unfolding alongside increased social tensions and class polarization, including the growing threat of another attempt at a military coup in Venezuela. As well, another team will be reporting on some of the economic and political developments in Cuba. (See box on page 8.)

The victory in this public fund-raising effort should encourage those partisans of the socialist press who are participating in the drive to increase the subscriber base of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the sales of Pathfinder's *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by Jack Barnes. They are geared up for a final push in this international campaign, which has less than two weeks left to run.

Recruiting workers

Continued from Page 9

search of even lower wages than they are paying south of the U.S. border. Companies are expanding the growing of coffee in Vietnam, where it can be produced more cheaply than in Latin America. This has devastated exports from countries such as Guatemala and led to huge layoffs and devastation of whole regions of the country.

Part of Latin America is Cuba, which is going through an economic squeeze, Barnes said. The country is under growing pressure because of the cutoff of oil from Venezuela, a decline in the number of tourists, and the decline to rock-bottom levels of export prices for sugar. Over the past decade there has been a growth of a middle-class layer in Cuba that has benefited from the legalization of the dollar and investment by capitalist firms from abroad. The hopes of this layer in "market reform" have been raised by the growth in the dollar economy.

Measures being taken by the revolutionary leadership in Cuba to protect the standard of living of working people by raising prices at dollar stores will hit this aspiring layer the hardest, he said; consequently, the class struggle will deepen in Cuba.

Barnes took note of the propaganda shift by Washington from its use of the terminology of "rogue states" to denunciation of the "axis of evil" of Iran, Iraq, and north Korea. The latter incorporates an explicit "preemptive" strategy that parallels the "preemptive" and "pre-crime" course pursued by the administration in policing inside the United States. This includes the continued incarceration, under the guise of the "war on terror," of hundreds of people on minor immigration charges, and the jailing in military prisons without charges of two U.S. citizens.

The U.S. rulers are determined to win support for military attacks on countries that have the potential to put nuclear warheads or other weapons on intercontinental ballistic missiles and launch them in response to assaults by U.S. imperialism. Preventing any country that has the necessary economic, technical, and engineering capacity from carrying out a missile attack is essential in giving Washington a free hand to continue its aggressive and brutal course in the world.

In the Mideast, the Palestinian people are outlasting the brutal repression of the Israeli rulers and dividing the government. Generation after generation has stood up to Israeli brutalities, and the best fighters will find their way to communism and a proletarian party, even though this is a long and bloody road.

As working people fight for a social wage, said Barnes, they reach out in solidarity, a unique quality of the working class, a propertyless class for which politics is the highest calling. The tendency toward human solidarity is an attribute of working people and the only thing that makes it possible for them to fight the assaults by the superwealthy rulers.

What marks politics today is the world character and depth of resistance, in which millions of toilers keep entering into the breach regardless of the lack of revolutionary working-class leadership. And there are no time limits on how long this can continue, Barnes said. Although none of these struggles heads toward a breakthrough in the construction of a revolutionary working-class leadership today, in struggle after struggle there are individuals who emerge ready to reach out, to seek new battles to join as they unfold, and to find their way to the proletarian party.

On the trail of union rats

Continued from Page 3

improperly can damage the cornea of the eye. Union workers take a special class for using potentially dangerous tools such as these, she said.

"These work sites are riddled with OSHA (Occupational Health and Safety Administration) violations," she said, looking over the area. "But you have a better shot of hitting Lotto than seeing anyone from OSHA ever come out and inspect these sites."

Union members also receive training in CPR, first aid, and hazardous material handling, with refresher courses every three years. "Workers have to be able to identify dangerous materials, especially in old buildings," she said. "Many have asbestos and other carcinogens that require proper respiratory equipment."

"Our problem is not with the workers, but with the contractor," the rat said. "Part of our challenge is convincing nonunion workers that we are not out to take their jobs. We don't want to kick those guys out of jobs. We want to organize them and get them the proper training before more people get hurt, or worse, killed."

"Everyone who joins the union is given a test to see what they know and whether they qualify as a journeyman or if they need training in our apprentice program," she said. Apprentices make \$11 to \$26 an hour, depending on experience, and they receive medical benefits.

The rat explained that the union uses organizers that speak the language of the workers they are reaching out to, and it puts out flyers in the language they can read. At many sites, carpenters come out to the rat to get information. They also give information to union supporters about the conditions they face, she said.

"We organized a cabinetry shop at Leon Goldstein high school and negotiated a five-year contract," the rat said. "Union organizers were already talking to carpenters there before I showed up on the scene. When I got over there with other pickets, it only took a week or so before the company, Mountaintop Cabinetry, settled and workers won a prevailing wage."

Before being deflated and stuffed into her duffel bag for the day, she showed us her battle wound from a previous organizing effort. "I was knifed in the back!" she yelled, pointing to her scar. "Those cowards couldn't even look me in the eye."

Laborers' rats on the line

The Construction and General Building Laborers union was the first to use inflatable rats at nonunion sites in the city. The *Militant* was also able to catch up with a couple of them.

One rat was hanging out in front of offices of the Department of Sanitation with a Laborers organizer who was handing out flyers about recent accidents at Rapid Demolition. Local 79 of the Laborers Union has protested the use of the antiunion outfit, which has a contract with the city for a job at a New York Department of Sanitation Garage.

"There have been four fires at the site, three of which required fire department attention," the rat said. "A worker's leg was crushed on the site June 10. The entire scaffolding collapsed June 12. It's amazing nobody was killed when that happened."

Scaffolding collapses are a major source of construction worker deaths. Six were killed and several others injured last October 25 after a collapse at a site in Manhattan.

Another rat put her feet down and nose up in front of a hotel construction site in lower Manhattan. Mustapha Lee was one of more than two dozen Laborers and Ironworkers members who joined her to protest the use of nonunion contractors at the site. Lee worked as a nonunion laborer for five years before joining the Laborers. He said he started work at \$7 an hour, sometimes working 10 hours a day, seven days a week.

"I never learned anything about safety with the nonunion contractors," Lee said. "I look back and think of all the jobs we messed up and the risks we took. And it was common practice for contractors to pay people in cash, under the table."

Laborers Local 79 was the first to be reinforced by the giant 15-foot rats six years ago. Since then, rats have not only taken a stand at construction sites and woodworking factories, but joined the Dominoes sugar strike in 1999 and 2000 and Teamsters picket lines two years ago at Overnite trucking company. And a Carpenters rat was on his way to an event for the United Federation of Teachers.

Much to the consternation of the "rat" employers, the giant rodents have bred and spread around not only New York City, but are starting to show up in Chicago and elsewhere as a symbol of resistance to the bosses' antiunion drive.

It seems that all of them have weathered assaults by antiunion employers and their thugs. In fact, after a still-unresolved slashing, one Laborers Local 79 rat has even been arrested and hauled off to jail for interrogation at 1 Police Plaza. We think we know who'll come out on top. And, the rats each said, these experiences have only strengthened their resolve to keep up the fight.

'Not just an American problem, but a world one'

Printed below is an excerpt from *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. This is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for July. The item quoted is from the chapter titled "Not just an American problem, but a world problem," a talk presented by Malcolm X at Corn Hill Methodist Church in Rochester, New York, on Feb. 16, 1965—just five days before he was assassinated. Copyright © 1989 by Betty Shabazz, Bruce Perry, and Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY MALCOLM X

We don't judge a man because of the color

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

of his skin. We don't judge you because you're white; we don't judge you because you're black; we don't judge you because you're brown. We judge you because of what you do and what you practice. And as long as you practice evil, we're against you. And for us, the most—the worst form of evil is the evil that's based upon judging a man because of the color of his skin. And I don't think anybody here can deny that we're living in a society that just doesn't judge a man according to his talents, according to his know-how, according to his possibility—background, or lack of academic background. This society judges a man solely upon the color of his skin. If you're white, you can go forward, and if you're Black, you have to fight your way every step of the way, and you still don't get forward. [Applause]

We are living in a society that is by and large controlled by people who believe in segregation. We are living in a society that is by and large controlled by a people who believe in racism, and practice segregation and discrimination and racism. We believe in a—and I say that it is controlled, not by the well-meaning whites, but controlled by the segregationists, the racists. And you can see by the pattern that this society follows all over the world. Right now in Asia you

have the American army dropping bombs on dark-skinned people. You can't say that—it's as though you can justify being that far from home, dropping bombs on somebody else. If you were next door, I could see it, but you can't go that far away from this country and drop bombs on somebody else and justify your presence over there, not with me. [Applause]

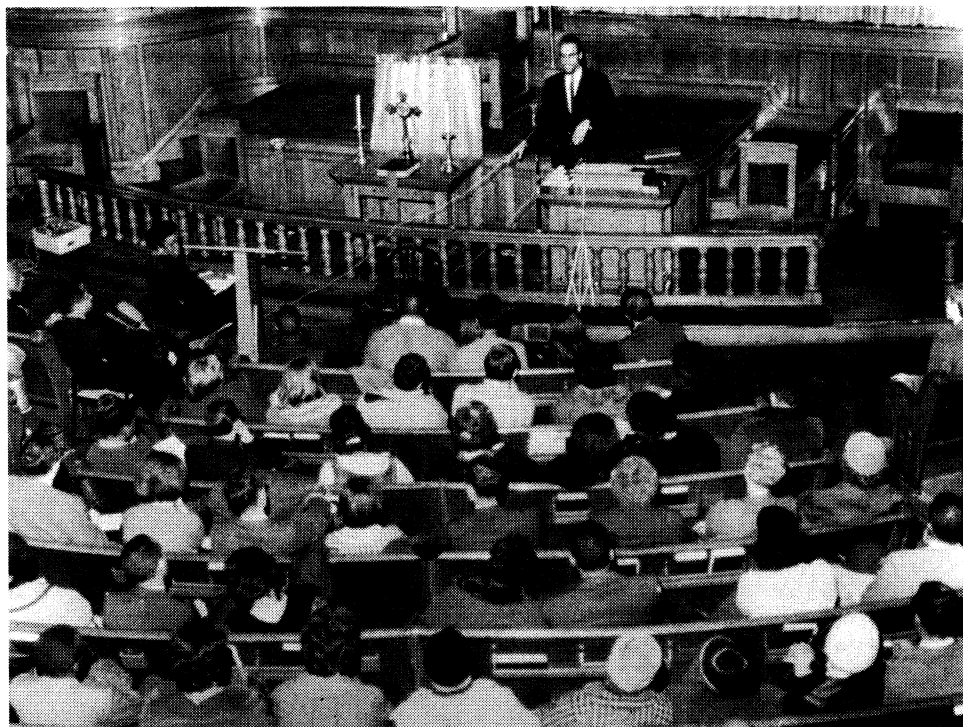
It's racism. Racism practiced by America. Racism which involves a war against the dark-skinned people in Asia, another form of racism involving a war against the dark-skinned people in the Congo*...as it involves a war against the dark-skinned people in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Rochester, New York. [Applause]

So we're not against people because they're white. But we're against those who practice racism. We're against those who drop bombs on people because their color happens to be of a different shade than yours. And because we're against it, the press says we're violent. We're not for violence. We're for peace. But the people that we're up against are for violence. You can't be peaceful when you're dealing with them. [Applause]

Making the criminal look like the victim

They accuse us of what they themselves are guilty of. This is what the criminal always does. They'll bomb you, then accuse you of bombing yourself. They'll crush your skull, then accuse you of attacking him. This is what the racists have always done—the criminal, the one who has criminal processes developed to a science. Their practice is criminal action. And then use the press to make you victim—look like the victim is the criminal, and the criminal is the victim. This is how they do it.... [Applause]

This is imagery. And just as this imagery is practiced at the local level, you can understand it better by an international example. The best recent example at the international level to bear witness to what I'm saying is what happened in the Congo. Look at what happened. We had a situation where a plane was dropping bombs on African villages. An African village has no defense against the bombs. And an African village is not sufficient threat that it has to be bombed! But planes were dropping bombs on African villages. When these bombs



Malcolm X addressing audience at Corn Hill Methodist Church in Rochester, New York, on Feb. 16, 1965, five days before he was assassinated. The U.S. rulers "accuse us of what they themselves are guilty of," stated Malcolm. "They'll bomb you, then accuse you of bombing yourself. They'll crush your skull, then accuse you of attacking them."

strike, they don't distinguish between enemy and friend. They don't distinguish between male and female. When these bombs are dropped on African villages in the Congo, they are dropped on Black women, Black children, Black babies. These human beings were blown to bits. I heard no outcry, no voice of compassion for these thousands of Black people who were slaughtered by planes. [Applause]

Why was there no outcry? Why was there no concern? Because, again, the press very skillfully made the victims look like they were the criminals, and the criminals look like they were the victims. [Applause]

They refer to the villages as "rebel held," you know. As if to say, because they are rebel-held villages, you can destroy the population, and it's okay. They also refer to the merchants of death as "American-trained, anti-Castro Cuban pilots." This made it okay. Because these pilots, these mercenaries—you know what a mercenary is, he's not a patriot. A mercenary is not someone who goes to war out of patriotism for his country. A mercenary is a hired killer. A person who kills, who draws blood for money, anybody's blood. You kill a human being as easily as you kill a cat or a dog or a chicken.

So these mercenaries, dropping bombs on African villages, caring nothing as to whether or not there are innocent, defenseless women and children and babies being destroyed by their bombs. But because they're called "mercenaries," given a glorified name, it doesn't excite you. Because they are referred to as "American-trained" pilots, because they are American-trained, that makes them okay. "Anti-Castro Cu-

bans," that makes them okay. Castro's a monster, so anybody who's against Castro is all right with us, and anything they can do from there, that's all right with us.... They put your mind right in a bag and take it wherever they want, as well. [Applause]

But it's something that you have to look at and answer for. Because they are American planes, American bombs, escorted by American paratroopers, armed with machine guns. But, you know, they say they're not soldiers, they're just there as escorts, like they started out with some advisers in South Vietnam. Twenty thousand of them—just advisers. These are just "escorts." They're able to do all of this mass murder and get away with it by labeling it "humanitarian," an act of humanitarianism. Or "in the name of freedom," "in the name of liberty." All kinds of high-sounding slogans, but it's cold-blooded murder, mass murder. And it's done so skillfully, so you and I, who call ourselves sophisticated in this twentieth century, are able to watch it, and put the stamp of approval upon it. Simply because it's being done to people with black skin, by people with white skin.

*In mid-1964, a revolt broke out in the Congo led by followers of murdered Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. They opposed Moise Tshombe becoming prime minister. The U.S.-backed Tshombe had been instrumental in the overthrow of Lumumba's government in 1960. During November 1964, U.S. planes ferried Belgian troops and mercenaries to rebel-held territory in an effort to crush the uprising. These forces carried out a massacre of thousands of Congolese.

LETTERS

'No vacancy'

Your coverage of labor struggles and international issues, such as U.S. imperialism's impact in the world, are indispensable. I was recently listening to a CD of old Merle Travis songs from the post-World War II period. I liked him as a kid. His song "No Vacancy" reminded me of the housing shortage and anti-veteran (if they looked poor or "colored") discrimination after the war.

Your past coverage concerning the post-World War II rise in class consciousness is great and needs to be repeated to remind us all about our true past and what we can and need to do now.

Dave Worthington
Keizer, Oregon

U.S. embargo of Cuba

I have a question concerning the economic sanctions on Cuba. Your newspaper, along with the Cuban government and most other leftists, opposes sanctions on Cuba. While the sanctions have caused hardship for the Cuban economy and people, it seems to me that the influx of foreign capital caused by a lifting of the embargo would inevitably lead to a restoration of capitalism on the island.

After all, Trotsky said that the greatest

threat to the Soviet Union was not military intervention, but the "cheap goods in the baggage train." If this is true, wouldn't lifting the sanctions cause more harm than good?

Eupen Runwick
by e-mail

Profit drive

As companies grow and expand globally, taking over other companies and gaining huge profits, it's another way of saying that regular people are losing a lot of money. Usually these people are overseas, but ever more rapidly it seems that these very people are from our very country.

Poor people are a direct result of companies with huge profits. If there was less money in the hands of large corporations there would be more money for common people—more food and more equality.

J.M.

Prince George, British Columbia

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

July BOOKS OF THE MONTH

★★★ Pathfinder Readers Club SPECIALS

Malcolm X: The Last Speeches

"Any kind of movement for freedom of Black people based solely within the confines of America is absolutely doomed to fail." Speeches and interviews from the last two years of his life. \$16.95 special price: \$12.50

The Lesser Evil?

Debates on the Democratic Party and Independent Working-Class Politics

JACK BARNES AND OTHERS

In three debates Marxist leaders explain how working people—as they learn through growing struggle that they are part of a class with interests opposed to those of the employers—will build a mass political party of their own to stop the bosses' march toward fascism and war. \$13.95, special price: \$10.50.

La emancipación de la mujer y la lucha africana por la libertad

(Spanish edition of Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle)

THOMAS SANKARA

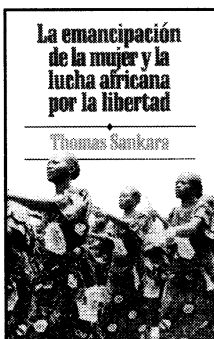
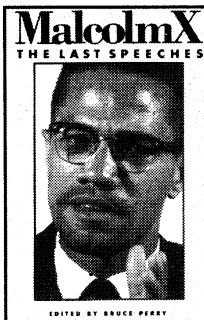
"There is no true social revolution without the liberation of women," explains the leader of the 1983–87 revolution in Burkina Faso. \$5.00, special price: \$3.50

Le socialisme et l'homme à Cuba

(French edition of Socialism and Man in Cuba)

ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA AND FIDEL CASTRO

Guevara's best-known presentation of the political tasks and challenges in leading the transition from capitalism to socialism. Includes Castro's 1987 speech on the 20th anniversary of Guevara's death. \$6.00, special price: \$4.50



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One-day walkout sweeps across Spain

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Labor actions in Europe, including a one-day general strike in Spain, walkouts across Italy, and joint job actions by air traffic controllers in five countries, are protesting government austerity drives across the continent.

The June 20 nationwide strike in Spain, the first such action in that country in eight years, was a response to moves to exclude sections of the working class from the system of unemployment benefits. A new unemployment law decreed by Spanish prime minister José María Aznar, head of the Popular Party, cuts wage payments to workers fired by their employers while labor courts rule on their appeals. The measure also limits the number of offers a job-seeker can reject without losing unemployment benefits, and phases out payments to seasonal farm workers.

According to union officials, 10 million workers joined the general strike. Auto plants, including those run by Citroën, Renault, Nissan, and Ford, were idled. The walkout shut down domestic and international transport, affecting hundreds of flights on the eve of the European Union (EU) summit meeting in Seville.

Rail traffic was halted for the day, along with taxis and buses. There were no high-speed train services between Madrid and Seville, and only one ferry crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, instead of the usual 15 per day.

The actions were called jointly by Spain's two major trade union federations, the Workers Commissions and the General Workers Union, which together represent 2 million workers. Union organizers reported that Seville was entirely shut down as 100,000 people marched through the city.

Trade unionists in the country's northern Basque and Navarre regions downed their tools a day before the general strike. Workers placed barricades across roads and railway lines.

Thousands of unionists marched through the streets of the major towns of Vitoria, San Sebastian, and Bilbao in actions that both emphasized the region's separate national identity and common struggle against Spain's capitalist ruling class. "We have demonstrated once again that this is not part of Spain," said Jose Elorrieta, head of the ELA, one of the major Basque nationalist unions.

The official unemployment rate in Spain is nearly 13 percent. Some areas, like Extremadura and Andalusia, among the nation's poorest regions, have substantially higher unemployment rates.

Workers have seen their real wages decline under the impact of austerity measures promoted by the bosses and the government. "In 10 years I've lost a lot of purchasing power," said Juan de la Cruz, a bricklayer participating in the march in Seville. "I was



Union members picket in Madrid June 20 during the country's first general strike in eight years. Union officials estimate 10 million workers joined the labor action, which protested government assaults on unemployment benefits.

supporting four children 10 years ago, and now with only two left at home I can barely make it to the end of the month."

An offensive by the bosses over the past decade has led to a steep decline in the number of workers affiliated to the trade unions. One aspect of this assault has been the employers' expansion in the use of low-paid "temporary" workers. Today, out of a Spanish labor force of 16 million people, fewer than 2 million are union members.

At the end of the 24-hour work stoppage, union officials speaking at a large rally in Madrid vowed that there would be further job actions if the government did not back

down from their attacks on unemployment benefits.

Metalworkers and judges strike in Italy

In Italy, unions conducted a series of eight-hour strike actions June 21. The walkouts by transit workers halted bus and tram service in major cities throughout the country, including Rome, Naples, and Milan. The workers demanded wage increases to match inflation and a halt to government plans to change labor laws that would make it easier for employers to fire workers. In addition, Italy's largest union, the CGIL, called its factory members out for four hours in Lom-

bardy and Campania.

A day earlier, Italian prosecutors and judges staged their first strike in 11 years in opposition to government plans to reform the judiciary laws. The magistrates objected to a provision in the new law, which is being promoted by Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, to give parliament some powers to set the agenda for prosecutors—a move, they argued, that would interfere with the judiciary's independence.

The same day as the general strike in Spain, thousands of workers in Portugal marched against the austerity measures being promoted by the government, which include steps to privatize parts of the social security and pension programs. Similarly, in Greece, workers have been taking to the streets in a series of strikes in opposition to a new law enabling the capitalist rulers to further cut into the social wage (see article below).

In France, the country's third-largest trade union federation has threatened to strike if the newly elected government there attempts to increase the duration of pension payments by civil servants before retirement.

Air traffic controllers strike

Air traffic controllers in five European countries walked off the job June 19, forcing airlines to cancel most flights in France and disrupting air travel in much of the rest of the continent. Unionists in France, Italy, Greece, Portugal, and Hungary called the strike to protest EU plans to restructure the way the air corridors are operated. This was the third such strike since last year, and union officials made clear that it will not be the last.

Unions representing the striking controllers said that the EU's plan to place European airspace under a single integrated management would jeopardize safety and lead to privatization and job cuts.

The strike had its biggest impact in France, where carriers were able to operate only about 300 of the more than 2,000 domestic and European flights that normally go through Paris each day.

Auto workers defend strike against Navistar

BY JOHN STEELE

TORONTO—About 600 striking truck assemblers at the Navistar International Corp. plant in Chatham, Ontario, are determined to prevent scabs from taking their jobs despite a court injunction limiting pickets to a total of 50 at the plant's seven gates. "Those scabs are not getting through," said Joe McCabe, a Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) national representative.

The workers are members of CAW Local 127. In face of the company's strike-breaking drive, up to 700 auto workers from Navistar and other auto plants in the area have reinforced picket lines to block

busloads of "replacement workers" from entering the plant. On the morning of June 20 a bus was steered away from the plant before it could reach the gates.

The workers walked off the job June 1 to fight company demands for major concessions. These include a \$6 an hour wage cut for production workers, a \$4 an hour cut for the skilled trades, a hike in the cost of benefits, cuts in vacation time for those with more than three years seniority, and a lengthening of the workweek for some from 39 hours to a compulsory 56 hours.

The workers walked out despite the company's threat to close the facility and move the work to its plant in Escobedo, Mexico, unless they accept cost-cutting measures totaling \$28 million. The bosses made these demands in April when contract negotiations began.

In June the company said it had found \$14 million and demanded concessions from the workers for the other \$14 million. Under the terms of the former contract, which expired June 1, the company had to give the workers a year's notice before closing the Chatham site. Company officials stated that with no contract the terms no longer apply and that "we could close the plant any time."

At peak production in 1999 the plant employed 2,500 people and the workers produced 129 trucks a day. A smaller workforce now puts out 39 trucks a day on the assembly line.

Three weeks into the strike the company announced it was trying to restart production and claimed that supervisors and other bosses had produced eight trucks. A June 19 Navistar press release announced Navistar's intention to break the strike with scabs.

"To meet the needs of our customers, there-

fore, we need to activate another element of our contingency plan, which is to resume production at Chatham now, using temporary workers," stated Steve Keate, president of the truck group of the parent company, International Truck and Engine Corporation. The company said it is working closely with local authorities on its plans to bring in scabs. In 1995 the Ontario Conservative government legalized the use of scabs.

"This is the first real test of the scab legislation at an assembly plant," Joe McCabe told the *Militant*. "It is a challenge to the CAW and the entire labor movement." McCabe reported that Navistar had hired Strom of Canada well before the end of the Chatham contract. The outfit is part of Strom Engineering, a scab hiring hall in the United States. It set up shop in a hotel room in Windsor. It now has moved to permanent office facilities there.

Support is building for the strikers. "The incredible solidarity of our CAW locals in Chatham, Windsor, and London, as well as locals from southwest Ontario, have prevented the scabs from getting into the plant so far," said a June 21 CAW Navistar Solidarity Alert. "All CAW members are asked to be on FULL ALERT on a moment's notice with the signal from your local union leadership to leave your workplace and head by car or bus to Navistar in Chatham," stated the newsletter.

Other unions are also coming into the fight. The United Food and Commercial Workers has offered to supply the strikers with hamburgers and hot dogs for rallies and other needs.

As we go to press, one picket was critically injured when three strikers were run over by a van driven by a security goon hired by the Navistar bosses. See photo box on page 10 for more information.

Workers in Greece strike for pay hike and to defend pensions

BY BOBBIS MISAILIDES
AND NATASHA TERLEXIS

ATHENS, Greece—"Our struggle is for better wages and working conditions," said Nawaz, a farm worker originally from Pakistan who is now living in Marathonas, a region outside of Athens. He was fired along with some 100 others for helping to lead a strike by 1,500 farm workers in that region.

The overwhelming majority of the farm workers in Marathonas who participated in the strike are from Pakistan, India, and Egypt. Although the imperialist occupation of Afghanistan has heightened the war danger between India and Pakistan, "here we are all workers facing the same problems and trying to find common solutions, which lead us to organize a strike," said Nawaz. The walkout began June 9 and lasted for two days.

The workers are employed by capitalist farmers and labor in greenhouses and in the fields producing flowers, vegetables, and fruit for markets in Athens. There has not been a union of farm workers in Greece.

Nawaz has worked for eight years in the greenhouses. During that time his pay for an eight-hour day has risen from 11.15 to 20.50 euros (1 euro=US 98 cents). "Farm work is a heavy job that most Greek workers won't do with such low pay," he explained. Farm workers in the fields are relatively worse off. They work from 6:00 in the morning until 10:00 at night and receive between 14 and 20 euros. Workers generally work seven days a week. Nawaz said this is the first strike in the eight years he has worked in Marathonas.

In addition to low pay, farm workers, es-

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